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ABSTRACT

This monograph is the first in a group of studies on the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes. It is the basic tenet of this study that the differences in background, attitudes, and behavior of secondary school teachers in Uganda have significant implications for the effects which schools have on the attitudes, values, and knowledge of the pupils. The identification of various types of teachers in terms of their own orientations towards crucial aspects of the national development of Uganda provides important baseline information for further studying the school as an agent of political socialization in new states. Chapters include descriptions of: 1) educational system in Uganda; 2) sampling procedure; 3) pretest, coding and analysis, questionnaire administration, data processing; 4) factor analysis; 5) definition of teacher groups; 6) teacher communications behavior, affective and cognitive orientation toward government, awareness and discussion of National affairs; 7) teacher views of pupil participation, and relevance of education; 8) teacher interaction with society, and the community; and, 9) teacher as an innovator. The present analysis could prove useful for the planning tasks of recruiting, training, and utilization of the teachers. (SBE)

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ATTITUDES and BEHAVIOR of TEACHERS in UGANDA: AN ASPECT of the PROCESS of NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

by David R. Evans

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Stanford International Development Education Center (SIDEC)

School of Education

Stanford University

Stanford, California, U.S.A.

1969

...the country is witnessing the emergence of one of our most important national requirements, namely, good citizenship which sees Uganda as a whole, is conscious of Uganda's needs and willing to take the initiative to fulfill those needs.

Dr. Milton Obote
President of Uganda

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FOREWORD

by

Hans N. Weiler

This monograph is the first in a group of studies on the role of education in the formation of social and civic attitudes and is part of the SIDEC research program on "Content and Methods of Education for Development." The aim of this particular specialization of the SIDEC research program is to identify properties of educational systems and processes which can be shown to influence the development, maintenance, and change of attitudes towards the social and political system and towards the individual's role in it. Within the conceptual framework of political socialization, studies in this area are expected to provide further insights into the individual and environmental correlates of attitude formation.

While this field of analysis is relatively new, especially in its application to emerging political systems, the present study on attitudes and behavior of secondary school teachers in Uganda already suggests several important dimensions of the process by which, within the environment of educational institutions, socially and politically relevant norms and values are being transmitted. The identification of various types of teachers in terms of their own orientations towards crucial aspects of the national development of Uganda provides important baseline information for further studying the school as an agent of political socialization in new states. At the same time, the present analysis should prove useful for the task of optimally allocating material and human resources within the educational system.

Further studies in this general area of research are now in preparation and will be published in subsequent issues of this series. These studies approach the problem of understanding the role of education in the process of political socialization in a variety of different ways and in different socio-political settings. It is expected that the results of these various studies will accumulate in such a way as to allow, in due time, significant comparative analyses.

Since studies of this general nature raise peculiar and, in many ways, unique problems of data processing and analysis, it was decided to retain, in this published version of the original study, as much information on the analytical procedures employed by the author as possible.

PREFACE

As with all such research, this study would not have been possible without the cooperation and help of a number of people. At the top of the list must come those in the educational system of Uganda who gave so freely of their time. Ministry officials, headmasters, and teachers were both sympathetic and cooperative, willing to add one more chore to already full timetables. Among the many officials who were helpful, the author would like to mention two in the Ministry of Education: W. Rwetsiba, the Permanent Secretary, and M. K. Sozi, formerly the Chief Education Officer. Credit must also be given to the Makerere Institute of Social Research for providing supporting facilities to the researcher during the fieldwork in Uganda.

A considerable debt to the Stanford International Development Education Center should be acknowledged. The Center provided the framework, the training, and the encouragement which made it possible for the author to undertake such a study. In particular, the author is indebted to Dr. H. N. Weiler for his unflagging support and advice throughout the entire process. The knowledge that help and advice would always be available contributed substantially to morale in the field in times of stress. Similar debts are owed to the other members of the Stanford faculty: Dr. W. O. Jones and Dr. N. L. Gage. The extensive experience of Dr. Jones in Africa provided some valuable insights and suggestions at critical points. The willingness of Dr. Gage to become immersed in the technical details of analysis and the procedures for reporting the results was of substantial help. The author would also like to acknowledge the technical advice on analytic procedures provided by Doctors R. Heath and R. Snow.

The author would like to extend his appreciation to Dr. K. Prewitt for his willingness to share his expertise in political socialization research and for making available the results of his pioneering study of socialization in East Africa. The author is also indebted to George Von der Muhll for sharing the ideas and research experience deriving from his extensive work in the schools of Tanzania.

The study resulting in this publication was made under a fellowship granted by the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of The Ford Foundation. Support for the computer time used in the analysis and editorial services was provided by the USOE under their research grant to SIDEC (OEC-4-7-062597-1654). The author also wishes to express his gratitude to Famah Andrew for her exceptional ability to make effective use of the MTST typewriter. Finally I am deeply indebted to my wife for her understanding and support during the four-year gestation period of this study, and also for the long hours which she spent editing the manuscript.

David R. Evans

December, 1968
Stanford University

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM: TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF SOCIALIZATION

Since the end of World War II the political and economic organization of much of the world has moved at an ever accelerating pace from a pattern of colonial dependencies to a pattern of newly independent nations, until today only small parts of the world remain in a politically dependent status. Commensurate with those developments, particularly in the past decade, the social sciences have become increasingly interested in the theoretical and practical problems posed by the task of creating, developing, and maintaining these new entities. The efforts of the social scientists were initially focused on the problems of structure, both economic and political. More recently attention has been directed toward the study of the human resources needed by those structures. Research has begun to focus on the individual whose skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values may or may not be suitable for the structures in which he must work.

From a study of the characteristics of the human resources, the raw materials from which a nation is fashioned, it is but a short step to begin asking how these characteristics are acquired. The possible sources of acquisition are numerous, ranging from family, clan, and community to the more formal agencies of school, mass media, youth groups, and armies. Starting in the late 1950's there has been a growing interest in the role of formal education since it is considered one of the prime sources of training of the human resources needed for development. Initially, the goal was to train individuals for participation in the modern economy by providing them with basic literacy skills which would allow them to staff the political and economic structures of the nation. Large proportions of the resources available were channeled into the formal educational structure in an attempt to make up for the relative scarcity of education during the colonial period. Expansion rates of 100% and more became common in the 1960's as new countries faced the task of running their own governments.

As the critical years immediately following independence have passed, and at least minimal levels of educational development have been reached, attention begins to focus on education as a potential source of more than just literate civil servants. Increasingly questions are asked about the role of education in forming the loyalties, values, and attitudes which are a necessary part of the development of a national social and cultural entity. Commissions are appointed to investigate ways in which the schools can be used to promote national goals and develop individual values relevant to the new national society. In a parallel way, emphasis in the social sciences moves from the study of manpower outputs to a consideration of schools as agents of socialization and a study of the characteristics of students emerging from different types of educational institutions.

Among the social science disciplines, economics,[1] sociology,[2] and political science began to devote serious efforts to the investigation of the role of education in promoting national development. Of the three, political science recently has provided perhaps the best developed framework for a study of the socialization process in the schools. The study of socialization as a political phenomenon evolved from a chain of events which began with the dissatisfaction of many political scientists with the field of comparative government as it stood at the end of World War II. Attempting to deal with the rapid and far flung political changes of the period after the war, they found the discipline too much immersed in static, formalistic approaches. The result of this and of other trends was the growth of interest in theories which would be able to deal with political change and development.[3]

The new interest in political development meshed naturally with the interest in the many new states of Africa and Asia to produce a growing body of research. An early benchmark was established with the publication of The Politics of the Developing Areas by Almond and Coleman.[4] As further research was completed it became increasingly clear that the amount and type of education provided within a country was an important determinant of the level of political development. Supporting evidence for this belief became available in the collection of case studies and summarizing comments produced by Coleman in his Education and Political Development.[5] Initially education was seen as important because it transmitted specific skills and knowledge about the political system to future citizens. Thus, attempts were made to relate measures of the amount of education to development of different types of political structures.[6]

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[1] Economists have concentrated mainly on the schools as producers of the manpower necessary for economic development and on the private returns to investment in education. For examples of such studies see: F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower and Economic Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964). For a very comprehensive collection of writings in the field see: M. J. Bowman *et al.* (eds.), Readings in the Economics of Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1968).

[2] Sociologists have been interested in the effect of schooling on occupation, mobility, and elite recruitment. A good collection of articles covering many of these fields is found in: A. H. Halsey, J. Floud, and C. A. Anderson (eds.), Education, Economy, and Society: A Reader in the Sociology of Education (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). An excellent example of the application of sociology of developing countries is provided by the work of Foster in West Africa. See for example: P. J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

[3] The development of the new approaches is discussed in more detail by G. Almond and G. Powell in the introduction to their book: Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966), pp. 1-15.

In this context, increasing importance was being placed on the attitudes, beliefs, and values of individuals as a significant aspect of the basis for any political system. This psychological dimension of the political system became known as the 'political culture' and served to focus interest on the individual's perceptions of his political environment. Considerable effort was devoted to delineating useful dimensions of political cultures which could be related to the process of political development in different countries.[7]

Attempts to understand the political culture as an aggregate of the perceptions of individuals led to the need for understanding the process by which individuals acquired their beliefs, attitudes, and values about the political system. This field, known as political socialization, has shown renewed vigor in the last few years and has produced an ever increasing volume of research.[8] The major problems of research in political socialization are summarized in a comprehensive article by Dennis in which he sets out ten major dimensions along which research has been or needs to be focused.[9] The dimension of most direct relevance of the research being reported here is concerned with the agents and agencies of political socialization.

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[4] G. Almond and J. S. Coleman (eds.), The Politics of the Developing Areas (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960).

[5] J. S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965). For a recent review of the research in the field of education and politics see H. N. Weiler, "Education and Political Development," Review of Educational Research, XXXVIII, No. 3 (June, 1968), pp. 231-243.

[6] See for example the discussion of political systems in relation to indices of development in Coleman's summary chapter. Almond and Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 536-544.

[7] The seminal work in this area is, of course, The Civic Culture by G. Almond and S. Verba. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965. Originally published by Princeton University Press in 1963.) For examples of the application of these concepts see the case studies collected by L. W. Pye and S. Verba (eds.), Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965).

Of the possible agencies of socialization the family and the school are usually considered two of the most important. Recent field work in the United States has raised some questions about these assumptions with regard to the family[10] and increasing efforts are being made to understand what actually takes place in schools in order to test more carefully the assumptions about the school as an agency of political socialization. Interest in the study of schools as agents of socialization can be traced back to the pioneering work of Charles Merriam and his co-workers. The foundations of the field were laid by his book, The Making of Citizens,[11] which undertook a comparative study of the use of education as an agency of citizenship training in eight countries of the Western world.

However, not until this decade were the research methodologies available or, even more important, the formulation of the concepts of citizenship specific enough to allow significant progress in our understanding of the phenomena of socialization. The Civic Culture represents an important milestone because of its application of survey research techniques to the problem of collecting large scale data on the behavioral aspects of the political activities of individuals. Other workers like Greenstein, Hess, and Dennis[12] have applied similar techniques to the problem of the development of political attitudes and knowledge in children. As our understanding of the concepts and their development in children increases, the emphasis in research is shifting to a study of the conditions which control the process of socialization.

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[8] Some of the more important recent works in the field are: H. H. Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1959); F. I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965); L. A. Froman, "Personality and Political Socialization," Journal of Politics, XXIII (1961), pp. 341-352; R. D. Hess and J. V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967); D. Easton and J. Dennis, The Development of Basic Attitudes and Values toward Government and Citizenship during the Elementary School Years (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: Final Report, April, 1968); "Political Socialization," Harvard Educational Review, XXXVIII, No. 3 (Summer, 1968).

[9] J. Dennis, "Major Problems of Political Socialization Research," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XII, No. 1 (February, 1968), pp. 85-114.

[10] M. K. Jennings and R. G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, LXII, No. 1 (March, 1968), pp. 169-184.

[11] C. E. Merriam, The Making of Citizens (with notes by G. Bereday. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966. Originally published by the University of Chicago Press in 1931).

As interest in the role of education as a socializing agent for development has spread, social scientists in other disciplines have begun to work on the problem and have produced a broadening of the field of enquiry from the more limited concepts of citizenship training originally used. Sociologists have begun to study schools as societies (e.g., to measure the effect of different patterns of interaction on stereotypes). Anthropologists became concerned with the school as an agency of cultural change, value modernization, and acculturation to a new way of life. Social Psychology contributes the techniques of attitude measurement and change and the concepts of group theory to the study of the school's effect on pupils.

The potential seems great, and the level of our understanding promises to increase markedly in the near future. Yet the existing literature is predominantly qualitative, with many intuitively appealing statements about the importance of the school as an agent of socialization but very little in the way of controlled research to support these statements. The application of the current level of understanding to the problems of the developing countries consists primarily of the superficial transfer of models and generalizations from Western nations. Perhaps the most positive contribution of the research to date is the delineation of a number of aspects within the school which are potential sources of socialization; sources which need more careful study.

Schools as Agents of Political Socialization

By making reference to the theory and research of disciplines which have been applied to the problem of socialization in the schools, one can single out at least five different areas of the school environment as sources of socialization.[13] The areas are: 1) the content of the curriculum and materials used in class, 2) specific symbols, rituals, and procedures present in the school, 3) the institutional press or atmosphere as a whole, 4) the peer group with its norms, values, and behavioral patterns, and 5) the teacher as a model and a source of attitudes and values. In each of these areas a number of references can be cited; this includes one or two older works and some very recent efforts which are the result of the current resurgence of interest in the problem of socialization. If, however, one is interested in research focused on the problems of socialization in developing countries, and more specifically on those problems in an African context, the number of references is quite limited.

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[12] See for instance: Greenstein, *op. cit.*, and Hess and Torney, *op. cit.*

[13] For a different formulation of the relationships between schools and political attitudes see Coleman, *Education and Political Development*,

The primary approach to studying socialization in the schools has been through analyzing the content of the curriculum; the underlying assumption being that the source of attitudes and knowledge about the role of citizens and the government of the country is the content of the curriculum as presented in civics courses or their equivalent. A supporting assumption is based on the fact that children spend the greatest single block of time in school, and hence the school has the most opportunity to function as a source of socialization. In developing countries the length of contact with the school is reinforced by the relatively isolated position of the school, particularly at the secondary level, and the consequent diminishing opportunity for other agents of socialization to act on pupils.

Attempts to study these forms of 'manifest socialization' in an East African school context are somewhat frustrating because of the almost total absence of civics classes or other obvious forms of content explicitly designed to teach citizenship roles. The schools are derived primarily from the British pattern of schools and are staffed with large numbers of British expatriates, who bring with them the British conception of the proper role of the schools. Merriam's comment on the practices in England at the time of his study still have relevance for the educational model which has been transferred to East Africa. He noted that

> An examination of the English school system in its relation to civic training reveals a general denial of any conscious attempt to engender national sentiment through the agency of education. In fact one finds an indignant repudiation of any such unbecoming purpose.[14]

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op. cit., p. 19. Other candidates for consideration would include classroom instructional processes, and patterns of authority exercised both in and out of the classroom.

[14] Merriam, op. cit., p. 132.

A similar problem occurs when one attempts to look at the use of symbols, ritual, or other forms of ceremony in the secondary schools. In contrast to the United States, where the use of symbols and ritual is widespread, a study of 30 secondary schools in Uganda showed that such practices were notable for their absence.[15] For example, only 22% of the schools displayed the national flag more than twice a term and less than 10% of the schools sang the national anthem more than several times a term.[16] Research by Hess and Torney in the United States on the effects of such rituals as the singing of the anthem indicates that their primary value for children of elementary school age is to inculcate a feeling of unquestioning loyalty and patriotism.[17] Although the frequency of the use of such rituals in the United States declines as one moves up in the educational system, the rate is still very high in comparison to that found in the schools of East Africa. What this indicates about the role of secondary schools as agents of socialization is not clear, other than the apparent scope for increase in efforts, should it be desired.

Turning from the overt aspects of socialization in the schools to the effects of more general aspects of the school environment, one finds somewhat less in the way of research, either in the United States or in Africa. Sociology and social psychology have developed a number of theories and models for studying the effects of peer groups on the attitudes and values of individual members or of potential members of the group. A well known study by Coleman of a secondary school in the United States is an example of the application of these techniques to a school.[18] A comparable study of a school in East Africa is provided by Weeks' detailed look at the patterns of interaction among pupils of minority and majority tribes in a day school in Uganda.[19] A number of other approaches to group theory seem to hold considerable potential for the study of the socialization effects of schools. For example, the concept of reference groups may be particularly useful when applied to the effects of prestigious subgroups within schools.[20] Likewise, work in the field of intergroup relations provides a number of approaches to study the effect of contact between members of different ethnic, racial, or religious groups within the confines of a secondary school.[21]

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[15] D. R. Evans, "Secondary Schools as Agents of Socialization for National Goals," Proceedings of the East African University Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam: January, 1968 (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1968).

[16] Ibid., p. 6.

[17] Hess and Torney, op. cit., pp. 105-108.

[18] J. S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

[19] S. G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Report on a Socilogical Case Study of an Urban Day Secondary School," University of East Africa Social Science Conference Proceedings, January, 1963. (Kampala, Uganda: Institute of Social Research, 1963).

One area of study which has produced a number of recent publications is that dealing with the contextual effects of educational institutions on pupil attitudes, values, and aspirations. Most of this work is confined to studies of American universities and colleges, but it does provide theoretical models for approaches to similar problems in the schools of developing countries.[22] A few examples of descriptive observational studies of secondary schools in Africa are available. For example, Musgrove describes a well-known boarding school in Uganda as being effective in orienting the boys away from tribal groups and toward groups based on school organization and activities.[23] He feels that the school has been able to modify the boys' attitudes toward marriage, occupational choice, and standards of social behavior. More useful understandings of interaction among specific aspects of the school environment and specific attitude changes must await the application of the types of measures which are just now beginning to be used in the studies of American colleges.

The fifth area of the school which is important for socialization involves the teachers as direct and indirect agents of socialization. The intuitive feeling of most authors is that next to the content of the curriculum, the teacher is the most important source of socialization in the schools. Statements testifying to the importance of the teacher are found in virtually every reference on the schools and socialization. The importance of the teacher seems to derive from two aspects of his role: as a conveyor of a message whose content is seen as an important source of socialization, and as a model whose attitudes, feelings and values are consciously or unconsciously transmitted to the pupils.

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[20] For a good example of its application to an American college see the study by A. E. Siegel and S. Siegel, "Reference Groups, Membership Groups, and Attitude Change" (1957), included in Readings in the Social Psychology of Education. W. W. Charters and N. L. Gage (eds.) (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1963).

[21] See for example M. Sherif and C. Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953).

[22] An example of a very large-scale study is provided by the work of A. W. Astin, The College Environment (Washington, D.C.: The American Council on Education, 1968).

[23] F. Musgrove, "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Cultural Change," Africa, XXII, No. 3 (1952), pp. 234-249. A similar study from West Africa is presented by N. Hawkes, "Cultural Transition in a Nigerian Secondary School," New Era in Home and School, XLVI, No. 10 (December, 1965), p. 234-237.

A few examples will suffice to indicate the tenor of the prevailing beliefs about the role of the teacher as a socializing agent. Merriam's comment was:

> And regardless of what the texts may say, the personality of the teacher and his or her political sympathies play a large role in the determination of the impressions made upon the minds of young children.[24]

Essentially the same comment is made by Coleman, writing thirty years later, about the role of education in political development.

> Teachers are important both as socializers and as communicators ... they occupy one of the most strategic positions in the whole socialization process. ... Their personal political attitudes and orientation, their teaching style and effectiveness, significantly affect the quality of their performance ....[25]

The indirect and unconscious nature of the transmission process is stressed by many authors and underscores the importance of knowing what attitudes and values the teacher has since these are the ones most likely to be transmitted informally and effectively.

A related body of research is concerned with the social background of the teachers and its effect on the behavior of the teachers in the classroom. Charters reviews this material thoroughly and states that the premise underlying the research is one concerning

> ... the transmission of value orientations from teacher to pupil. It proceeds not so much through didactic teachings as through the reward and punishment system and other subtleties of the flow of interaction, ... Which values will

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[24] Merriam, op. cit., p. 127.

[25] Coleman, op. cit., p. 370.

> be transmitted depends upon the teacher's own value orientation, which, in turn, is determined by his position in the groups and subcultures of the social structure.[26]

The question clearly has relevance in the East African situation where the teachers and the pupils come from widely differing cultures and societies and frequently from entirely different nations. The predominance of expatriate teachers in the secondary schools is cited specifically by the Kenya Education Commission as a source of concern about the values and attitudes being transmitted in the schools.

> Nevertheless, at a time when we are seeking to create an African nation, it is paradoxical that the urgency of localization within the administrative ranks of government and in other fields has actually set back the course of localization in those educational institutions that are most powerfully formative of the national mind and outlook.[27]

The extent to which these concerns are justified in the light of teachers' actual attitudes and values is the topic of this research study.

When one moves from qualitative, intuitive discussions about the importance of the teacher and the kinds of things which a given type of teacher is most likely to transmit, to attempts to analyze and verify the tentative hypotheses underlying such discussions the ground is much less secure. Charters reviewed the literature relating to the interaction between the social status of the teacher in society and his performance in the classroom and concluded that the "... research which tests the veridicality of the assumptions is meager, and what findings there are suggest that the assumptions are gross oversimplifications of the processes involved."[28] He feels that the difficulties lie mainly in the limitations of the designs of the studies; most of them have been focused primarily on other problems. Thus, the hypotheses remain intuitively appealing and worthy of direct investigation.

Attempts to study the effects of teacher attitudes on pupils and on classrooms are mentioned in a number of places in Gage's Handbook of

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[26] W. W. Charters, Jr., "The Social Background of Teaching," in N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), p. 726.

[27] S. H. Ominde (chmn.), Kenya Education Commission Report: Part I (Nairobi, Kenya: Government Printer, 1964), p. 79.

[28] Charters, *op. cit.*, p. 741.

Research on Teaching. Stern discusses research relating teachers' attitudes to classroom climate and the subsequent effects on pupil achievement.[29] Results tend to be ambiguous, and it is difficult to derive practical implications from them. Stern feels that some of the problems with these studies may be a result of the reactive nature of the observation techniques used. A related area of research is reviewed by Metcalf in his chapter on teaching methods in social studies. He discusses the research on methods designed to change attitudes about issues of social importance and cites several studies on the effectiveness of the 'reflective model.'[30] Results seem to indicate some superiority for the reflective model but no clear understanding of the process involved seems to have emerged.

From the point of view of the study to be reported here, the area of research reviewed by Withall and Lewis provides an important instance of research which establishes some basis for the belief about the role of the teacher. They reported on research done by Anderson and others in the 1940's on the relationship between teachers' behavior and pupils' behavior.[31] The results of an extended series of studies tended to demonstrate that the teacher's classroom personality and behaviors influenced the behaviors of the children in the classroom. This work, at a minimum, lays the groundwork for establishing the direction of the flow of influence from teacher to pupils; this is an important part of the argument that the teacher acts as an agent of socialization in the classroom. It remains to be demonstrated, however, that the more specific kinds of content subsumed under the rubric of political socialization are in fact transmitted as a result of teacher attitudes, values, and behaviors.

Perhaps the most striking thing about research on the effect of the teacher is the relative lack of documentation on the transmission of specific attitudes or values. The author was unable to discover any reference to such research in the Handbook of Research on Teaching, which is by far the most thorough review of research in this field. One of the few attempts to document the transmission process, which has come to the author's attention, is a doctoral study done in the 1930's by A. J. Manske.[32] His study deals with the reflection of the teacher's attitudes toward the Negro problem in America on the attitudes of the pupils after they had been exposed to lessons containing information about the problem. The lessons were designed to give the teacher a chance to express his own attitudes. The results were negative in "that pupils rarely significantly reflect the attitudes of their teachers."[33] The study was hampered by being limited to a strictly informational approach to the problem of attitude change which today is known to be unlikely to produce much change.

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[29] G. G. Stern, "Measuring Noncognitive Variables in Research on Teaching," in N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), p. 424.

[30] L. E. Metcalf, "Research on Teaching the Social Studies," in N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), pp. 941-945. The reflective model involves a probing, questioning discussion of text materials causing pupils to reflect on various possible interpretations of the issues.

[31] J. Withall and W. W. Lewis, "Social Interaction in the Classroom," in N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1963), p. 692.

A more recent attempt to demonstrate similarity between teachers' and pupils' attitudes is found in the study of political attitudes by Hess and Torney. Their results showed trends of growing similarity between pupils and teachers as pupils moved through the primary school toward the eighth grade, particularly in the dimensions of orientation toward government figures and institutions.[34] Similarities also appear in concepts of the desirable qualities of citizens and, to a lesser extent, in the value of independent voting. They concluded that the "extent of congruence in responses supports the conclusion that the school is a powerful socializing agent in the area of citizenship and political behavior.[35] By school they mean, in effect, teachers, since all of their evidence pertains to the teachers.

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[32] A. J. Manske, The Reflection of Teachers' Attitudes in the Attitudes of their Pupils (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936).

[33] Ibid., p. 51. Two other studies were completed in about the same era. Both of them dealt with more general liberal-conservative attitude orientations of Social Studies teachers. Both of them were able to show positive correlations between teacher orientation and changes in pupil orientation after contact with the teachers. However, in neither case is it clear that the teacher is the sole or even the most important source of influence on the pupils. See H. M. Mason, "Effects of Attitudes of High-School Teachers of Social Studies upon Attitudes of Their Pupils," Studies in Higher Education, Purdue University, V (1942, pp. 47-65. See also A. Kroll, "Teacher's Influence upon Attitudes of Boys in the Twelfth Grade," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXV (1934), pp. 274-280.

[34] Hess and Torney, op. cit., p. 112.

[35] Ibid., p. 114.

While these results offer encouraging evidence for the efficacy of teachers as agents of socialization, they do not demonstrate any causal relation between teachers' attitudes and subsequent pupils' attitudes. At best the evidence of Hess and Torney does not reject the hypothesis, or stated more positively, their evidence allows one to continue to test the hypothesis. The presence of trends showing increasing congruence between pupils and teachers as a function of amount of schooling is suggestive, but needs to be tested so that alternative hypotheses of maturation or general school effect can be rejected in favor of the hypothesis that the teachers are the major source of influence.

Despite the lack of clear evidence in support of the view that the teacher is an important agent of socialization, the hypothesis remains appealing and compelling both to the layman and to the professional educator. The theoretical basis for the hypothesis is more encouraging and holds out the hope that more adequate experimental designs will be possible in the future. One strand of theory and research derives from the study of communications and their effect on attitudes. Of particular salience are studies indicating the characteristics of communicators which are important in determining their effectiveness. To be most effective the communicator must be credible, attractive, and have group affiliations which the audience can identify with.[36] These findings support common sense conceptions of the teacher's role since, to be at all successful, the teacher must be credible and at least minimally attractive to the pupils.

Complementing these findings, the more extensive theory developed by H. C. Kelman seems to be directly relevant to the role of the teacher as an agent of social influence.[37] Kelman distinguished three distinct processes of social influence: compliance, identification, and internalization. Compliance occurs when an individual accepts influence from another person because he hopes to achieve a favorable reaction or avoid an unfavorable reaction from that person. Identification occurs when an individual accepts influence because he wants to establish or maintain a satisfying relationship with that person. And, internalization occurs when an individual accepts influence because the content of the influence is intrinsically rewarding and is congruent with his value system.

Kelman presents a series of antecedent and consequent conditions which are associated with each of these processes. The one most relevant to the teaching situation is probably the one concerned with the source of the influencing agent's power. For compliance, the power derives from the agent's ability to supply or withhold means needed for the achievement of the individual's goals. If the agent's power is based on his attractiveness, influence will tend to take the form of identification and if the power is based on the agent's credibility then the influence will tend to take the form of internalization.

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[36] D. Krech et al., The Individual in Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1962), pp. 231-233.

[37] H. C. Kelman, "Three Processes of Social Influence," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (1961), pp. 57-78.

Clearly more than one of these processes may be operating simultaneously, but in most situations one or another of them will be dominant. In the classroom the key variable would be the way in which the pupils perceive the teacher. As the perception moves from one of means control along the continuum to credibility, the efficacy of the teacher as a source of influence increases and the probability that the influence will extend beyond the classroom situation also increases. Thus, the model provides a framework for analyzing the influence of the teacher and lends theoretical support to the hypothesis that the teacher can be an important source of socialization.

There is some evidence to support the assumption that pupils in African schools view their teachers as attractive and credible sources. The most direct evidence is provided by a large-scale study of pupil attitudes in Kenya and Tanzania which contained several questions of relevance. One of them was a trust question asking whether, in general, different groups of people -- father, teachers, religious leaders, and government leaders -- could be trusted. The pupils were given four choices for each group: Always, Usually, Not often, and Never. For secondary pupils in both Kenya and Tanzania, father was rated highest, followed closely by religious leaders and teachers, in that order, and government leaders were last by a larger margin. Stated a different way, the finding indicated that the teachers were about 10 percentage points below father while government leaders were about 30 points below the father. In all, about 80% of the pupils indicated that teachers could be trusted Always or Usually.[38]

To inquire more specifically into the relative influence of these socializing agents, the investigators asked the pupils to indicate which agents taught them the most about being good citizens. The results show a striking emphasis on the teacher as the most important source. Of the secondary school pupils sampled, 71% in Kenya and 56% in Tanzania chose the teacher. Parents and relatives are next with about 45% in both cases, and all other sources are mentioned only by 20% or less of the pupils.[39] Thus, although the trust ratings of teachers are somewhat below those of parents, the teachers are rated well above the parents as sources of good citizenship training.

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[38] D. Koff and G. Von der Muhl, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania - A Comparative Analysis," Proceedings of University of East Africa Social Science Conference, December, 1966 [Distributed by Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala, Uganda. Subsequently published in Journal of Modern African Studies, V (1967)], p. 7.

Finally, pupils were asked what they thought were the two best ways to learn about what was happening in the country. Radio and newspapers received the greatest number of choices -- 96% in both Kenya and Tanzania. Teachers received the second highest percents (about 50%) in both countries while parents and relatives received a third highest per cent (only about 5%).[40] The results of these questions lend substantial support to the supposition that the teachers have the potential for acting as agents of socialization because pupils perceive them as trustworthy and credible sources; they are also consciously viewed by the pupils as being a source of both citizenship training and information about what is happening in the country.[41]

A number of other theories also provide possible theoretical models of the transmission process from teacher to student. One model which has a number of attractive features when considered as to its plausibility in the East African setting involves the process of social learning.[42] The theory of social learning centers around modeling, imitation, and various patterns of reinforcement. The traditional methods of instruction in an African community rely heavily on modeling and imitation. When pupils enter school they bring with them the learning patterns which they are accustomed to and continue to use them in the formal educational setting. Several aspects of the school situation tend to encourage the use of imitation as a learning process. Classes are conducted in a foreign language and are mainly concerned with subject matter which has little reference to the real world of the pupils. Much of what is presented is literally uncomprehensible to the pupils and they have no alternative but to imitate and memorize.

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[39] Ibid., p. 8.

[40] Ibid., p. 9.

[41] Although the study of teachers being reported in this document took place in Uganda, in the author's opinion the results of the pupil survey cited for Kenya and Tanzania would be essentially the same had comparable data been available for the pupils in Uganda.

[42] N. E. Miller and J. Dollard, Social Learning and Imitation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), and A. Bandura and R. H. Walters, Social Learning and Personality Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1963).

At the secondary school level, the pupils begin to learn something about their roles as members of the larger national community and begin to see themselves as participants in this larger entity. Yet, the sources of information and models for these roles are scarce indeed. Parents and relatives are not generally relevant models since the national community and the roles embodied in it are so recent that most members of the older generation are themselves trying to learn the new roles. The teachers in the schools provide virtually the only models of modern, participating members of the community with whom the pupils have any direct contact. Teachers are generally perceived as attractive, influential members of the community and as such are natural models for imitation by the pupils who want desperately to become active participants in the new nation. The life style of the teacher is also attractive since it represents the apparent way of life of the new elite and most secondary pupils consider themselves candidates for this group.

As models for imitation the teacher's role would appear to be more important than merely acting as a source of content in the classroom. Their importance is enhanced even more by other aspects of the school system. Most of the schools are boarding schools, often located at somewhat isolated sites several miles outside town. The effect is to make the school a more or less closed community in which the headmaster and the staff have the authority to structure and control almost all of the pupils' activities. While the Ministry of Education retains official control over a number of aspects of school life, the relative remoteness of the Ministry and the difficulty of communication means that effective, daily control rests with the staff. Similarly, the local community exerts little influence on the school since interaction with the school is minimal, and is generally on terms dictated by the school.

As a result, the activities, organization, and daily operation of the school are determined primarily by the staff in the school. The implicit models of secondary education which the teachers bring with them influence strongly their actions in the school. What the teachers perceive as relevant and desirable for the pupils will generally determine what happens in the school. For example, if the teachers do not perceive civic education as part of the role of the school, then it generally will not be part of the program. Even if Ministry policy dictates that certain things shall be included in the school program, it is ultimately the teachers who must arrange and carry out these policies. Given the difficulties of operating a school with limited resources, with tenuous lines of communication, and with a high rate of staff turnover the policies most likely to be implemented effectively are those which match the teacher's perception of what is right and desirable.

Studying the Teachers in Uganda's Secondary Schools

Having indicated a number of theoretical reasons for the study of teachers in a developing country like Uganda, we now turn to a consideration of the composition of the teaching force and the questions raised by the great variety of teachers present in the schools. The majority of teachers have been and continue to be expatriates, mostly British but with substantial numbers of Americans and other European nationalities. The proportion of Ugandan teachers, both Asian and African, is about one third and is rising slowly. Because of extreme shortages of teachers, the country has been forced to recruit from a wide variety of sources and under a number of different schemes. The result is an extremely heterogeneous teaching staff in terms of their cost to the country, their length of service, their training, and their cultural background.

It is the basic tenet of this study that the differences in background of the teachers have significant implications for the effects which the schools have on the attitudes, values, and knowledge of the pupils. If differences do exist, then it becomes important to know how they are distributed among the teachers and how they relate to various background characteristics of the teachers. As Uganda begins to reach a point where a choice is possible between alternative sources and alternative types of teachers, then the knowledge of what various kinds of teachers are likely to bring in the way of attitudes and values is a most useful adjunct to planning. Such knowledge also has direct implications for recruiting, training, and utilization of the teachers.

Ideally, a research project would be able to throw light on the problem of transmission, i.e., what processes relate specific characteristics of teachers to specific attitudes and values of pupils. For the moment, though, this goal must remain on the horizon while investigation begins the process of gathering information about the teachers, the pupils, and the ways in which they interact. The complexities of demonstrating causal relations between teachers and pupils are many, and the state of our understanding of the situation is too meager to hold much immediate promise of being able to design suitable experiments.[43] Coupled with the theoretical problems, the practical situation in Uganda is such that access to pupils for purposes of investigating citizenship training is somewhat limited.[44]

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[43] For a comparative discussion of old and new techniques for analyzing direction and source of causal effects in teacher-pupil relations see: A. H. Yee and N. L. Gage, "Techniques for Estimating Source and Direction of Causal Influence in Panel Data," *Psychological Bulletin*, LXX, No. 2 (1968), pp. 115-126.

Before any realistic attempts to measure transmission can be undertaken, careful study must be made of the kinds of attitudes and information the teachers have which might be transmitted. When sufficient knowledge about the teachers is acquired, one can then set about the task of constructing dependent variables which reflect real and useful differences among teachers and which can form the content of the message to be transmitted to the pupils. The purpose of the current study is to provide a detailed descriptive look at the teachers and to attempt to construct a number of dependent measures which reflect important dimensions of differences among teachers, particularly those from different cultural and national backgrounds.

The results should serve the purpose of identifying variables potentially useful for studies of transmission and should also provide a description of teacher attitudes and values. The description is useful in denoting areas where teachers are unlikely to act as agents of socialization because they lack the requisite attitudes, and in delineating the areas where teachers are most likely to be able to transmit attitudes. In the United States interest has recently been focused on teachers and their political actions both in and out of the classroom. A number of studies have attempted to discover what teachers think and feel about various aspects of our political system. A good example is the work of H. Zeigler in Oregon. He investigated the relationship between the teacher as a political actor and communicator of political ideas to students, and a number of other characteristics of teachers such as job satisfaction, participation in an interest group, and reactions to sanctions.[45]

The Choice of Independent Variables

The independent variables in the study are defined, in general, as those characteristics which the teachers bring with them to the teaching job. Thus, they would include demographic variables such as nationality, sex, age, socioeconomic background, and religion. Other variables, such as the amount of teaching experience, orientation and language training for expatriates, and the secondary school experiences of the teachers, would also be included. The question of how the teachers were to be split into groups for purposes of analysis was left open initially. The answer depended on whether differences in important dependent variables seemed to occur across groups with obvious demographic characteristics like nationality, or whether the differences are related more closely to other characteristics like age and length of service. Another consideration in choosing independent variables is the administrative problem faced by Uganda in terms of the various sources of teachers available for recruiting. A more complete discussion of the rationale for the final choice is presented in Chapter III where the total teaching population of Uganda is described in some detail.

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[44] The author's letter of permission to do research in the schools was obtained from the Ministry of Education only after lengthy negotiations; it explicitly forbade any contact with the pupils.

[45] H. Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1966). An example of a more limited set of objectives but similar approach is provided by: J. Weiser and J. Hayes, "Democratic Attitudes of Teachers and Prospective Teachers," Phi Delta Kappan, XLVII, No. 9 (May, 1966), pp. 476-481.

The Choice of Dimensions for the Dependent Variables

The initial conceptualization of the study can be traced to an interest in the role of teachers as sources of information and attitudes relevant to the citizenship training of the pupils. As the plans for the research developed it became clear that a somewhat broader definition of citizenship would be necessary if the study was to relate to the situation in a developing African country like Uganda. Dimensions were added which relate to aspects of modernization and which form a number of the prerequisites for successful national development. The final set of dimensions can perhaps be best described as consisting of the major components of the process of socialization for national goals in Uganda.

Like many new nations, Uganda faces tremendous challenges in trying to weld together diverse ethnic and racial groups within an artificially created set of geographic boundaries. At the same time the country must cope with the vast new responsibilities involved in creating and running a national government, must find ways of reconciling the interests of different groups which frequently lack even a common frame of reference, and must carefully allocate its limited resources while under severe political pressures created by the demands for increased government performance in all aspects of development. To meet the basic conditions of survival, and also to make a start toward some of the stated goals for the development of Uganda, a number of attitudes and value constellations must be developed in the average citizen of the country.

In selecting the areas of socialization to be included in the study, reference was made to a number of different sources. First, an outline of important dimensions was drawn up by reference to the body of literature on national development and, in particular, the role of education in promoting such development. Second, the areas chosen were those most relevant to the situation in Uganda, as judged from the author's own extended experience in the schools and knowledge about the situation in Uganda. And, third, reference was made to all available materials which gave indications of Uganda's own goals for the country and its expectations about the role of education in attaining those goals.[46]

At the outset a strategy decision was made to exclude any direct measurement of classroom activities from the study. The resources available for the research were not sufficient to cope with either the practical or the technical problems involved in getting an adequate sampling of behavior in the classroom. Furthermore, the indications provided by the research mentioned earlier in this chapter, tend to support the premise that socialization occurs mainly in the non-academic aspects of school life, and particularly in the informal process of teacher-pupil interaction. The omission of classroom content is made even less serious by the fact that the curriculum contains almost no reference to the topics being considered in this study. As a result, the study will focus mainly on the teacher's perception of the pupils, his expectations for teacher-pupil relationships, and his conception of the non-academic role of the school.

The assumption that the teacher should know and understand his pupils is, of course, a basic tenet of modern educational theory. It has somewhat greater importance in the Ugandan situation because so many of the teachers come from cultures totally different from the culture of the pupils. Knowledge and understanding of the cultural background of the pupils is also relevant because it probably constitutes an important part of the teacher's attractiveness to the pupils. An expatriate who is perceived as sympathetic and understanding of the background of pupils may be able to overcome the effects of being affiliated with a group which is not perceived of as 'one of us!' Teachers who are successful in overcoming the handicap of such an image will probably have effectively fulfilled the conditions, which the communications research cited earlier indicated was necessary, for maximum effectiveness as a communicator.

The following section presents a brief outline of the major dimensions used in this study in describing the teachers in Uganda. A look at the dimensions listed below shows that they bear upon the national goals of the country. A more detailed discussion of each dimension, including a listing of the items used in constructing an index to represent the dimension, will be presented when the results are discussed in the second half of this report. The dimensions are stated in such a way as to describe a teacher who is presumed to be an effective socializing agent for the national goals of the country.

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[46] Examples of the sources used are: newspapers, speeches, records of parliamentary debates, Official government documents, Ministry of Education policy statements, and personal discussions with officials at all levels in the educational system of Uganda.

A. The National Government and the Political Culture

A good socializing agent for the development of national unity, a sense of national identification, a sense of loyalty, and a sense of political efficacy is probably one who:

1. Has a favorable image of the government, its performance, its approachability, and its concern for individual citizens.
2. Is aware of and knowledgeable about national affairs.
3. Is willing to discuss national issues with pupils, to express an opinion, and feels that the role of the teacher includes the socializing of pupils in matters of national interest.

B. The School and Basic Citizenship Skills

A good agent for the training of pupils in the skills and attitudes required for a modern participatory democracy is likely to be one who:

1. Sees pupil involvement in the running and organization of the school as an important learning experience for the pupils.
2. Feels that democratic processes in the school should be explicit and allow practice in skills to be used later in life.
3. Is concerned about the relevance of the academic, formal, and authoritarian nature of education which is generally offered now.

C. The Pupil and His Cultural and Social Environment

An effective agent for attracting pupils and influencing their attitudes and values is probably one who:

1. Is aware of the social and cultural environment from which the pupils have come.

2. Has a favorable or at least sympathetic set of attitudes toward the customs and values of the traditional culture.

3. Is aware of and has some contact with the home and family background of the pupils.

D. The School and the Community

A good agent for building more meaningful relations between the school and the community is likely to be one who:

1. Is concerned about the present pattern of isolation of the school from the community.

2. Is himself involved in community activities and is able to serve as a model for the pupils.

These basic dimensions will be supplemented with a number of other items dealing with the teacher's activities and performance in the school. Measures of the total teaching load, the involvement in sports and activities, and the administrative responsibilities held in the school, will be used to produce a clearer picture of the total range of the teacher's involvement. These latter measures will also provide an initial step toward bridging the gap between descriptions of teacher attitudes and feelings and descriptions of the actual behavior of the teachers.

Finally, a number of items dealing with innovation and change in the school will be discussed. These items cover both the teachers' feelings about the need for changes and the teachers' reports on the kinds of changes which they have actually tried to initiate in their schools. The assumption underlying the questions on innovation is that knowledge of the types of teachers who feel changes are necessary and who are likely to attempt to introduce changes is important in planning staffing. If the government feels that the current structure of the schools is satisfactory, then teachers likely to want changes are probably disruptive, whereas, if the government is itself contemplating changes then teachers similarly inclined are an advantage.

The author has consciously chosen to state the assumptions underlying the dependent variables in a direct form in order to explicitly exhibit his position and its inherent biases. To the inevitable charge that these assumptions are based on the American way, the author would reply that most of them do indeed derive from the socialization process which the author has experienced as an American citizen. If this were the only basis for using these assumptions in Uganda, they would indeed be difficult to defend. Substituting the American formula for the British one holds little hope for creating the kind of school system which is relevant to Uganda. The justification of these dimensions, however, will be shown to derive from many sources, including British ones; and even more important, to derive directly from the goals enunciated by Ugandans for their country and schools.

More specific justifications for individual dimensions will be discussed in detail when the results are presented. At the very least one can say that the assumptions received widespread support in the Western social science disciplines, ranging from the concepts of political culture in political science to modern, child-oriented educational philosophies.[47] By and large, the dimensions seem to the author to be intuitively appealing and for many will be acceptable on the basis of their content and its obvious relation to the problems faced by the country.

Summary

This first chapter has indicated that the schools in a developing country are widely regarded as a key factor in the process of socializing young people in the national goals of the country. Within the schools there are a number of possible sources of socialization and five of them were outlined briefly. Reasons were presented to show that one of these five sources, the teacher, is potentially one of the most important sources. Several different models which offer a theoretical basis for the assumption that the teacher can function as an agent of socialization were presented and reference was made to the specific conditions in Uganda which lend themselves to the application of these theories. This study will focus on the teachers as agents of socialization in Uganda, a recently formed African country.

Lack of previous research in the area and the complexity of the problem make it unfeasible to attempt to demonstrate causal relations between teacher characteristics and effects on pupils. This study will confine itself to an analytic description of certain attitudes of teachers assumed to be relevant to their role as agents of national socialization and the relationships between these attitudes and various background characteristics of the teachers. Groups of teachers will be defined on the basis of salient independent variables and their positions on related dependent dimensions will be described and discussed. The dependent dimensions have been chosen for their relevance to the needs of Uganda and because of their implications for the success or failure of Uganda's attempts, through the instrument of the educational system, to reach certain specified national goals.

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[47] There are, of course, many other traditions which might well have relevance in Uganda. One would want to consider models ranging from monarchies, to dictatorships, to the various types of communist governments found in the East. However, it would be unrealistic to overlook the fact that the modern history of Uganda has all taken place under Western influence and that both its institutions and its leaders have been strongly influenced by Western ideas.

The analysis is not intended to prove or disprove a specific set of hypotheses about specific kinds of teachers. Rather, the data will allow a comprehensive description of the teachers available from various sources now and in the near future and will permit one to assess the implications of using these teachers for the socialization process in the schools. As a by-product, the data will also allow the testing of a number of the prevailing stereotypes and hypotheses about the performance and attitudes of various kinds of teachers. And, finally, the results should be of use to planners concerned with organizing the school environment so as to maximize its potential contribution in the molding of pupil attitudes and values in ways most appropriate for national development.

The chapters in the first part of the report will describe the research setting, the general characteristics of the schools and the teachers in Uganda, the procedures used in the study, and the analytic techniques used to reduce the data to its final form. The second half of the report will be devoted to the presentation and interpretation of the results. Each dimension will be dealt with separately and then a summary section will attempt to provide an over-all view of the pattern of interaction between the independent and dependent variables.

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH SETTING

Uganda, one of the three countries to emerge from the former British East Africa, is typical of the newly-independent nations of modern sub-Saharan Africa. Lying on the northern shore of Lake Victoria, the country ranges from a fertile tropical environment near the lake in the south to a semi-arid plain in the north that is suitable only for nomadic cattle raising. The Ruwenzori Mountains form the Western border, and at their feet lie a series of lakes formed by the western branch of the Great Rift Valley as it passes southward through Uganda. The historic Nile River originates in Lake Victoria and flows north and west, watering a large part of Uganda before encountering the southern edge of the Sahara in the Sudan.

The geographical and ecological diversity of the country is mirrored in the diversity of its peoples. The population of about eight million contains important divisions which run vertically and horizontally through the social structure of the country. The horizontal layers tend to coincide with racial distribution and can be viewed as a pyramid of rising degrees of modernization. The base consists of indigenous Africans who are peasant farmers. The middle layer is composed primarily of Asians (about 60,000) who control most of the commercial activity in the country and provide most of the skilled labor available.[1] The peak of the pyramid is formed by the ruling African elite and a small number of Europeans (around 5,000) who occupy professional posts in the country.

Cutting vertically across this structure are two other sets of groupings. Small as it is Uganda contains some thirteen major tribes, four of which have highly organized political hierarchies with hereditary kingships.[2] Although the formal structure of these kingdoms has recently been severely curtailed, they still command the loyalty and obedience of most members of the tribe. Historical affinities and enmities produce shifting alliances among the tribes depending on the issue involved.

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[1] While most people tend to think of Asians as a homogeneous group, they are themselves split into numerous language, religious and caste groups. See D. P. Ghai (ed.), Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1965).

[2] J. E. Goldthorpe, Outlines of East African Society (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere College Library, 1958).

Recent political developments have emphasized a Bantu-Nilotic split which corresponds roughly to a North-South division of the tribes in the country.

Further divisions occur along religious lines. At the last census, slightly more than half of the population was listed as Christian. A small but active group adheres to the Muslim religion.[3] Conflicts between various religious groups have been a part of Uganda's history since the arrival of the religions in the country. The alignments by religion sometimes coincide with tribal or political alliances and sometimes cut across them. Religion is an important factor in all issues concerning the growth and development of the nation.

At the time of independence, in October of 1962, the political structure of Uganda consisted of a central government and a series of regional governments which were based primarily on modifications of existing tribal institutions. Since independence there has been a gradual strengthening of the central government at the expense of the regions. The trend culminated in a major constitutional revision in 1967 which abolished the traditional kingships and set up a dozen or so district councils to replace the regional governments. A number of disturbances accompanied these changes, and feelings of loyalty to regional organizations continue to compete with national allegiance. No national elections have taken place in the six years since independence, and there is some uncertainty about the way leadership will be passed to new officials.

The economic structure of Uganda is similar to that of most countries at an early stage of development. The economy is based primarily on peasant farmers engaged in subsistence agriculture. The major source of revenue for the government is the coffee and cotton produced as a cash crop by smallholders in the central and northern parts of the country. There are marginal deposits of copper and other minerals which bring in some revenue. In general, the resource base available for developing the country is not large and is subject to the whims of the international commodity markets. A number of small-scale industries have been started, but the scope for development within Uganda is limited by the small market available. As cooperation between the three East African countries increases, the development of all of them will benefit.

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[3] The last census took place in 1959 and gave the following distribution of religion: Catholic, 34%; Protestant (Anglican), 28%; Muslim, 6%; and the remainder, Pagan or Other. Uganda Census, 1959: African Population (Uganda Government: Statistics Branch, Ministry of Economic Affairs). These figures are now ten years out of date and fairly large changes are to be expected. The data also conceal fairly large variations in percentages by district within the country.

The distribution of the population enhances the great disparities in education and economic development, which exist between different parts of the country. The middle and upper levels of the pyramid, discussed before, are collected together in two modern cities: Kampala and Jinja. The majority of the African peoples live outside these cities and have limited access to the education and economic development available in the cities. The movement of people and resources to the city further aggravates the urban-rural division and contributes to a feeling of neglect and deprivation on the part of those who remain in the rural areas. The government is striving hard to counteract these trends: particularly by making education available throughout the country.

The Educational System in Uganda

While the history of formal education in Uganda (education in the Western tradition) can be traced back to about 1900, it was not until the middle of the 1950's that any sizeable development began to occur in the educational system.[4] The extent of the expansion during the 1950's can be judged from the nearly eight-fold expansion of expenditures on education during the decade, rising to a sum of over five million pounds sterling in 1960. In 1957, the government announced its aim to integrate all education in Uganda which had previously been separated along racial or communal lines. These and other steps reflected a growing awareness on the part of the government that the territory of Uganda was moving toward self-government.

Just prior to independence, the educational system had many of the properties which characterized what Harbison and Myers, in their analysis of the role of education in development, called Level I countries.[5] Primary schooling had expanded to the point where enough places existed for about 50% of the age cohort. The development of secondary schooling had lagged seriously behind so that places existed for just under 1% of the age group. In his budget speech of 1962, the Minister of Education indicated that the country intended to do everything in its power to increase the amount of secondary education available, but that they were severely hampered by a lack of finance and trained teachers.[6]

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[4] For a brief outline of this historical development see D. G. Scanlon, Education in Uganda (USOE Bulletin, 1964), No. 32.

[5] F. Harbison and C. A. Myers, Education, Manpower, and Economic Growth: (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964), pp. 49ff. Uganda is mentioned in their analysis as characterizing Level I, but sharing a number of aspects with Level II countries. By now, Uganda would probably be placed in the Level II category.

In the period since independence, the political pressures created by a widespread demand for secondary education have combined with stated government policies to produce a tremendous rate of expansion in the number of places available in secondary schools. In 1962, there were about 30 government-aided schools with a total enrollment of about 7,400. By 1967, there were 72 schools and an enrollment of approximately 21,000 pupils, representing a threefold increase in a five-year period.[7] This expansion required large amounts of foreign aid both financially and in terms of trained personnel to staff the schools.

The heterogeneity of the current teaching staff in Uganda can be traced to a number of programs begun during this period of rapid expansion. Local sources of trained manpower were unable to provide even 10% of the teachers needed. The relatively few Ugandan graduates being produced were immediately taken into government or business to fill the gaps created by the departure of Europeans in the period after independence. In 1961, a combined Anglo-American scheme called Teachers for East Africa was initiated with the stated purpose of helping to break the bottleneck created by the lack of teachers. This scheme was later supplemented by contributions from a number of countries in the form of volunteers.[8] Thus, throughout this period of rapid growth the staffing patterns of the schools were characterized by large percentages of expatriate teachers, the bulk of whom served for two-year periods, and small percentages of Ugandan teachers.[9] At no time did the proportion of Ugandans exceed 15% of the total, and their turnover rate tended to be high since they represented the single most important reservoir of trained Ugandans in the country.

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[6] S. J. Luyimbazi-Zake, Ministry of Education. Budget Speech in National Assembly (Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education, July 18, 1962), pp. 2-8 (Mimeographed). Dr. Zake also pointed out that this figure does not represent the percentage of pupils in schools since many of the existing places were not filled.

[7] Education Statistics, 1966 (Kampala, Uganda: Uganda Government, Ministry of Education, 1966), Part G, Table 13.

[8] For a discussion of the American contribution to the supply of secondary teachers in East Africa see R. Freeman Butts, American Education in International Development (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), pp. 51 ff.

[9] For an excellent discussion of this complex and fluid situation the author recommends the following book: Peter Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd., 1966).

In the last few years several steps have been taken to significantly increase the number of Ugandans being trained as teachers. The University introduced a Bachelor of Education course which graduated about 30 Ugandan teachers in 1967, and will probably be turning out about 50 graduates per year between now and the end of the decade. A much larger source of manpower for schools is the newly created category of Grade V teacher -- a non-graduate certificate awarded after three years of training beyond the School Certificate (or two years beyond the Higher School Certificate). In 1967, nearly 100 Grade V teachers were produced and the number is expected to be increased to about 150. This rate represents about 10% of the existing teaching force and can be expected to make noticeable changes in the proportion of local teachers in the schools.

Having such large proportions of expatriate teachers in the schools has, of course, had an influence on the content and style of education in Uganda. One of the effects has been to reinforce the tendency of the schools to emphasize the acquisition of literary and academic skills. The beginning of this trend can be traced back to the original aims of the missionaries who founded these schools to produce 'readers' who would then become candidates for conversion to Christianity. In the 1940's and '50's, as the task of running the Protectorate became more extensive, the government encouraged the schools to provide training which would produce pupils capable of fulfilling posts as clerks and low-level assistants to government officials.

Interacting with these local trends were the images and ideas held by the expatriate teachers and officials as to what a good school should be like. To them, the concept of a good school meant something similar to the Public Schools in England. A recent history of Budo, the most prestigious boarding school in Uganda, remarks on the faith which the founders had in "the adaptation of our English public school method to the African race."[10] The author goes on to note that, in all fairness, one should remember that the founders paid Uganda the compliment of bringing the best they knew to the country.

At the same time, the concept of a boarding school seemed to be particularly suitable for the local conditions in Uganda. The people lived in small family groups spread across the land, making it very difficult to find enough pupils living within walking distance of a school. This was even more of a problem for secondary education where only a small selected group was to be admitted. Another attraction of the boarding school was the opportunity to fully control the environment in which the pupils lived. Since, in addition to academic training, the goals of the school were to transmit a set of values and habits which were often in opposition to traditional practice, it was considered necessary to separate the pupils from the influence of their homes and communities. Finally, boarding schools were able to provide the facilities and supervision needed to produce academic work of a good quality from the pupils. Conditions in pupils' homes were such as to make any kind of study impractical and unlikely.

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[10] G. P. McGregor, King's College Budo: The First Sixty Years (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1967).

The result of these influences was the production of an educational system at the secondary level which is moderate in size but of fairly consistent and good quality.[11] The majority of the schools are boarding schools patterned after similar schools in England. The curriculum emphasizes academic subjects. Considerable weight is placed on literary and language skills, although very recently the government has strongly encouraged science and mathematics skills. The out-of-class environment stresses moral character training, usually with a specific religious basis, and the development of non-academic interests through a program of sports, clubs, and societies. Since independence, the content of the curriculum has been standardized in all government-aided schools, and the amount and type of course work offered is controlled by the Inspectorate division of the Ministry of Education. Schools that were founded by various missionary groups are now fully controlled by the central government, although the missions still participate in the administration of the schools.

There are some day schools, particularly in urban centers, where population densities are high enough to provide sufficient numbers of pupils. Most of the day schools were originally founded by the Asian community and have since become multiracial as a result of government policy. Even in the cities though, there are severe problems created by the lack of suitable places for African pupils to live while attending school; relatively few African families live in the large cities. A number of the traditional boarding schools have also been asked to take on a stream of day pupils as a result of extreme pressures being put on the capacity of secondary education by large numbers of primary school leavers.[12]

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[11] A comparative analysis of the development of education in Uganda and Kenya, indicates that Uganda has consistently chosen policies of a conservative, quality producing kind. The effect has been to limit the size of the system and to produce higher costs for education in Uganda. See Sheldon Weeks, Divergence in Educational Development: The Case of Kenya and Uganda (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967).

[12] In 1968, only 15% of the primary leavers were able to find places in government-aided secondary schools. Uganda Argus, "Member Calls for Review of Education," February 10, 1968, p. 3.

Finally, to understand the educational system in Uganda, one must also look at the examination system. Three sets of examinations are administered on a national basis: the Primary Leaving exams given at the end of primary school, the School Certificate examination given at the end of four years of secondary school, and the Higher School Certificate examination given at the end of two further years of education. Of these exams, the latter two are constructed, administered, and marked by the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate in London. The examinations are similar to ones set in many countries throughout the former British Empire, although the number of local options in subjects like language and history has increased rapidly since the independence of these countries.

The examinations serve to select those students who will continue on to the next level and to maintain uniform and relatively high standards of accomplishment. Because of the proportionately small number of places available at successively higher levels of education, the examinations take on crucial importance in determining the future of the pupils involved. The result is very close attention on the part of the schools to the task of preparing pupils for the examinations and a consequent limiting of the content and aims of teaching to those things required by the examination syllabus. One of the more unfortunate aspects of the system is a tendency to encourage slavish adherence to syllabi which are derived from another country and which are, therefore, of questionable relevance to the educational goals of Uganda. Plans are being made to place control of the examinations in the hands of an East African Examination Board, but it will probably be a number of years before full control lies in East Africa, and somewhat longer before the needed syllabus reforms are completed.

An indication of the future pattern in the development of Uganda's education is provided by the second five-year plan, which runs from 1966 to 1971.[13] In primary education, the plan calls for a 40% increase in the number of places available. This would provide places for about 53% of the age group in government-aided schools and up to 75% of the age group if private schools are included in the total. Secondary education is still regarded as a bottleneck and will continue to be increased at a rapid pace leading to a 50% increase in the number of places available by 1971. University intake is to double by 1971, reaching a total of some 900 students in that year. The general pattern is a rate of growth which is the maximum that the country can sustain by using its own resources to their fullest and by receiving a substantial amount of external assistance.

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[13] Work for Progress (Entebbe, Uganda: Government Printer, May 1, 1966), pp. 131 ff.

The effect of continued rapid expansion on the teaching staff in the schools is not clearly discussed in the plan. For secondary schools, the only substantial source of local teachers is the Grade V program which, it is projected, will be turning out 250 teachers each year by the end of the planning period (1971). Since these are not graduates, and the schools have until now been staffed almost exclusively by graduates, there will have to be important structural changes in the schools, and perhaps in the examinations, if the majority of the teachers are to be Ugandans. However, given the conservative tradition of educational policy in Uganda, it is more likely that the structure of the schools will not change greatly and that expatriate teachers will continue to make up a significant proportion of the teaching staff. The stated goal of the plan with regard to expatriates in all parts of the government is a total Ugandanization by 1981, ten years after the end of the current plan.

In this brief review of the development of education in Uganda, perhaps the most striking thing is the extent to which the country believes in the role of education as a prime mover in producing economic and social development. The simple fact that the central government has spent, and continues to spend, 25% of its recurrent budget on education indicates the degree to which their belief in education is backed up by the allocation of scarce resources.[14] The study presented in the rest of this book is devoted to seeking part of the answer to the questions: Does the content and structure of the educational system in Uganda today seem to be producing results which justify the faith placed in it? And, in particular, are the characteristics of the teachers in the secondary school such as to enable them to promote the development goals of the nation?

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[14] P. Williams, Aid in Uganda - Education (London: The Overseas Development Institute Ltd., 1966), p. 78.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN UGANDA

While outwardly the secondary education system in Uganda appears to have remarkable uniformity, a closer look quickly reveals a considerable diversity. Some reasons for this diversity were discussed in the brief review of the development of education presented in the preceding chapter. In this chapter a more detailed analysis of the situation, as it existed in 1967, is presented; the discussion is necessary in order to understand the sampling procedure used in this study.

The first distinction that one must make is between the government-aided system and the private or non-aided system. Little firm information about the private sector of education in Uganda is available beyond very rough estimates of its size. Informed guesses place the size of the private system at the primary level at roughly half that of the aided system in terms of enrollment. At the secondary level, the private system is probably half to two-thirds the size of the government system.[1] While perhaps a dozen of the private secondary schools are of reasonable quality, the remainder are of dubious quality and not infrequently they are motivated primarily by the profits to be made from the unsatisfied demands for education.[2] For a number of economic and political reasons it was not practical to include any of the privately run schools in the study, although such information would be most valuable for educational planning in Uganda.

Within the government-aided system there are a number of important differences to be considered when trying to select a sample of teachers. The teaching population is heterogeneous and is widely dispersed in the sense that the various kinds of teachers tend to be spread throughout the system. Thus, for example, American Peace Corps Volunteers form about 10% of the teaching force and are to be found in over 75% of the schools. The schools themselves are widely distributed geographically and are of many different types, ranging from the prestigious

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[1] J. D. Chesswas, Educational Planning and Development in Uganda (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1966).

[2] The government is aware of the need for more information and better supervision in the private sector of education. During 1967 a commission was appointed to make a study of private education. Unfortunately that report has been held up and is not yet available.

Catholic or Anglican boys boarding schools, to the government-founded, rural, coeducational schools, to the primarily Asian day schools in an urban setting.

The Sampling Procedure

Two alternative sampling procedures were considered: a direct sampling of the teachers as individuals throughout the system, and a sampling of teachers by institutions. The first method is the normal one in surveys of individuals within populations but a number of local conditions made this undesirable. Because the turnover of teachers is so rapid, any attempt to enumerate the teachers is out of date before the process is finished.[3] Even without the problem of rapid changes, the difficulties of communication are such as to make the process of assembling such a list a challenging one.

A more serious problem with trying to sample by teachers is presented by the need to communicate with these individuals who are spread throughout all the schools in the system. The instrument would have to be mailed to respondents, and the success of the study would depend on the willingness of the respondent to complete the instrument and mail it back. Previous research involving teachers in Uganda indicated that getting teachers to participate in such a survey would be difficult.[4] Attempts to convey the rationale and the need for the research in an introductory letter are unlikely to be sufficient to induce the teacher to take time out of his demanding schedule to fill in something which he sees no use for and does not understand. Compounding these concerns were a number of tensions generated by the uncertain future of expatriate teachers in the country and the current national political difficulties.

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[3] Lists of teachers in individual schools obtained from the Ministry frequently turned out to have as many as 30% of the staff incorrect when the researcher checked the lists against the actual situation in the school.

[4] A discussion in London with Mr. B. A. Phipps, who had recently conducted an extensive study of junior secondary school teachers in Uganda, brought out a number of potential problems -- particularly where African Teachers were involved. The researcher's own experience with studies carried out by the Teachers for East Africa project with British and American teachers also indicated that getting cooperation from the teachers was going to be a difficult problem if standard methods of survey research were employed.

In order to overcome the anticipated resistance of teachers the researcher felt that he would have to make personal contact with most of them. The contact would allow the purpose and rationale of the study to be thoroughly explained and would permit the researcher to deal directly with the various fears and suspicions of the respondents. The only practical way of making contact is to meet with groups of teachers, and the logical grouping offered by the situation is the schools. Hence, the much greater attractiveness of sampling by school units rather than by individual teachers.

Sampling by schools had several other attractive features. It allowed the researcher to obtain a much better feeling for the actual situation in the schools, to obtain insight into peculiar local situations that might affect responses, to talk with a large proportion of the respondents directly, to listen to questions and complaints of respondents about the content and meaning of questions, and to gather systematic information about the characteristics of the schools as institutions. Finally, sampling by schools allowed the researcher to gather background information on teachers directly from the headmaster, who provided an independent source of data for looking at validity and who also supplied background information on all non-respondents.[5]

The procedure finally adopted was to draw a stratified random sample of the schools and then administer the instrument to all teachers currently teaching in those schools. The schools were stratified into four geographical regions: Central, Western, Northern, and Eastern. The purpose of using a geographical stratification was to insure that the various types of schools were all well represented. The regions turn out to be a useful division since they can be arranged along a number of relevant continua such as degree of urbanization, degree of development, major religious affiliation, tribal distribution of population, and development of various types of education.

The question of the proportion of the population to be included in the sample was complicated by the existence of a number of subgroups in the population of teachers. A criterion of a minimum size of 30 people in the smallest subgroup was set as a guideline in choosing the proportion of the total to be sampled. While normally one would solve this problem by stratifying according to the groups being studied and then selecting proportions according to the size of the group, the decision to sample by schools made this impossible. The final decision was to select 40% of the schools in each of the geographical strata. It was calculated that if one assumed a somewhat optimistic return rate of about two-thirds, the smallest group would contain between 25 and 30 respondents.

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[5] A possible disadvantage of sampling by school units would be the introduction of bias by a non-random distribution of teachers in the schools. The question is discussed in a later section of the chapter.

This procedure was somewhat inefficient in that it oversampled the largest group of teachers -- the British -- but it simplified immensely the administration procedure and added only a relatively small amount to the cost of the study.[6] It also avoided the politically and emotionally unwise procedure of appearing to discriminate between teachers when asking members of a particular school staff to participate in the study. For the same reason, the possibility of providing different questionnaires for the different groups was rejected in favor of the somewhat more difficult procedure of asking different groups to respond to different sections of the same questionnaire. Proportional sampling has the added advantage of allowing direct generalization from the sample to the population without the use of various weighting factors.

The theoretical procedure of proportionate, stratified, simple random sampling outlined above was modified somewhat in order to meet certain local conditions. First, two schools were arbitrarily withdrawn from the population before the sampling took place. These were schools that either had unusual organization problems or were the center of political interest, and hence were too risky to the status of the whole project to be used as part of the sample.

The second modification was made in order to permit the coordination of this study with a closely related one which had just been completed in the schools of Uganda. Under the direction of Kenneth Prewitt, a large scale survey of the citizenship attitudes of primary and secondary pupils was carried out in the schools of Uganda. Since it is generally felt that teachers are one of the major agents of the socialization process, it seemed highly desirable that the two studies be structured so that their samples overlapped. Thus, if the study of teachers and schools contained all the secondary schools in which data had been gathered on pupils' attitudes, then one could begin to investigate the relationships between the different types of schools and teachers and the attitudes of the pupils.[7]

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[6] The only extra cost involved was the coding and punching of cards for the extra questionnaires. It also had the advantage of allowing a more detailed study of the relationship between demographic variables and attitudes in the largest group.

[7] In fact, this study covered all three of the East African countries. Unfortunately, the data from Prewitt's study in Uganda have not been released at this point (December, 1968). A preliminary report of the results for Kenya and Tanzania is available in the following reference: D. Koff and G. Von der Muhl, "Political Socialization in

The sample of secondary schools used by Prewitt had been drawn in a manner similar to that proposed for this study. He drew a fixed proportion from a geographically stratified population consisting of all the schools which were complete -- that is, they had an examination level class. At that time, in 1966, there were about 30 schools in the country which met that criterion. His sample consisted of 14 schools, and it was decided to include all of his schools in the sample for the study of the teachers.

When the sample for the study of teachers was drawn in the spring of 1967 the system had expanded so rapidly that there were 72 government-aided secondary schools in the country. Many of them did not have examination level forms but, since this study was concerned with teachers and not pupils, no restrictions were placed on the level of development of the school. The sampling process actually employed consisted of several steps. First, the schools were divided into the four groups corresponding to their geographical location and then the 14 schools already chosen by Prewitt were taken off the list. The schools in each stratum were then numbered from one to as many as there were in the district. A table of random permutations of twenty numbers was then used to select schools from a given stratum until 40% of the schools had been chosen.[8] The process was repeated for each of the four groups.[9]

The results of the draw are best illustrated by tables. The first table represents the schools by strata and shows the number taken from Prewitt's sample and those drawn in the process just described. Thus, on the average 44% of the schools in each region were included in the final sample used for the study of teachers.

Kenya and Tanzania -- A Comparative Analysis," Journal of Modern African Studies, V, No. 12 (1967), pp. 13-51.

[8] R. A. Fisher and F. Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research (London: Oliver & Boyd, 6th edition, 1963), p. 142.

[9] The actual process was as follows: 1) After the schools were numbered, the first and second digit of the total number of schools in the group were used to determine the row and column starting position in the table of random numbers; 2) Numbers were read from the list until the desired proportion of 40% had been selected from the group. When a number came up twice it was ignored the second time. If a number came up which was larger than the number of schools in the list, it was skipped. In other words, there was no replacement. Selection continued by moving down the list of random numbers until the number of schools needed had been drawn.

TABLE 3.1

THE DISTRIBUTION OF GOVERNMENT AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION

Geographical Strata	Total Population	Total in Sample	Prewitt's Sample	% of Pop. in Sample
Central Region	23	10	4[a]	43%
Eastern Region	18	8	3	44%
Northern Region	14	6	4	43%
Western Region	17	8	2	47%
TOTALS	72	31	13	44% (avg.)

[a] For administrative reasons one school from Dr. Prewitt's original sample was not included in this study.

A more important question though, is the extent to which the spread of the characteristics of the schools in the sample is a good representation of the distribution of those characteristics in the entire population of schools. Table 3.2 compares the sample and the population in terms of basic characteristics of the school: the founding body, sex of pupils, residence of pupils at school, and the highest form in the school. The match between the sample and the total population is in general fairly good with only two characteristics where the sample is not quite the same as the population; the Anglican schools are slightly overrepresented at the expense of the schools founded by other religious bodies, and the boarding schools have a higher proportion in the sample (90%) than in the total population (75%).

One final comment should be made on the effect of using Prewitt's sample as part of the larger sample for this study. Because his sample occurred at an earlier period and because it was restricted to schools which had examination forms, it was strongly biased in favor of the extablished schools (those which had been government-aided for a long time). An analysis of the combined sample shows that there was some biasing but that it is not particularly large. The proportion of established schools in Prewitt's sample is about 90%, in the combined sample it is about 50%, and in the total population of schools it is about 40%.

To summarize, the distributions of various characteristics of the schools in the sample seem to resemble quite closely those in the entire population of schools. In the following section the distribution of different types of teachers in the sample will be compared to their distribution in the total population in order to judge the extent to which sampling by schools introduced distortion into the sample proportions.

Characteristics of the Teacher Population and Sample

The population of teachers in government secondary schools in Uganda can be described in a number of different ways.[10] One can say that it is about 63% European, 23% Asian, and 15% African. A different perspective can be presented by describing the teachers according to their terms of service: about 60% on contract from overseas, 15% on local hire (includes all those who are Ugandan citizens), 15% volunteers

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[10] The statistics in this paragraph are taken from the 1966 Ministry of Education statistics and from the characteristics of the sample drawn for this study. They are approximations intended only to provide an introductory glimpse of the characteristics of the teaching population.

TABLE 3.2

COMPARISON OF SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS IN THE SAMPLE AND IN THE POPULATION [a]

Characteristic	Sample	% of Sample	Total Population	% of Total Population
Number of Schools	31	---	72	---
Founding Body of School				
Government	7	23%	19	26%
Catholic	9	29%	19	26%
Anglican	12	39%	21	30%
Other (Muslim, Aga Khan, etc.)	3	9%	13	18%
Type of School				
Boarding	28	90%	54	75%
Day	3	10%	18	25%
Sex of Pupils				
Boys	15	48%	35	49%
Mixed	11	36%	26	36%
Girls	5	11%	11	15%
Highest Form in School				
6th Form	9	29%	19	26%
4th Form	14	45%	31	43%
3rd or 2nd Form	8	26%	22	31%

[a] Taken from a paper analyzing some of the characteristics of the secondary schools in Uganda. D.R. Evans, "Secondary Schools as Agents of Socialization for National Goals," Proceedings of the East African University Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam: January 1968 (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1968).

from various nations, and about 10% missionaries. And yet again they can be described in terms of their level of training, with about 70% having university degrees and 30% having less than university training. In the discussion which follows, the distribution of these various characteristics will be investigated in more detail both in relation to the sample drawn for this study and to the types of schools in which the teachers are to be found.

There are really two separate samples to be discussed: the total sample to which the instrument was administered, and the subsample of that group which completed and returned the questionnaire. Since generalizations about characteristics of the teachers and various subgroups of teachers will be based on the sample which returned the instrument, it is more useful to look at the group of respondents and deal separately with the non-respondents. To the extent that the non-respondents correspond with certain subgroups of teachers, limitations must be imposed on the generalizability of the findings based on the respondents.

Table 3.3 presents a comparison between the group of respondents and the total population of teachers in the schools. The categories are not mutually exclusive and, therefore, columns do not sum to totals although the sample and population totals are indicated in the last row. It can be seen, that with few exceptions, the proportions of the different types of teachers in the sample (Column B) are similar to the proportions in the entire population (Column D). The two groups which have the greatest difference in these two proportions are the Asians and the Volunteers. In the case of Asians, this represents an undersampling of the total number of Asians teaching in the schools. The undersampling is caused by the strong interaction between school type and the likelihood of having Asians on the staff (see Table 3.5). The great majority of the Asians are found in some six or eight town day schools, or stated another way, nearly 25% of the teachers (i.e., the Asian teachers) are found in about 10% of the schools. Added to this skewed distribution is the fact that the sample of schools drawn for this study under-represented day schools (see Table 3.2).

The difference in proportion of volunteers is the result of a rapid increase in the number of volunteer teachers in the time interval between the two sets of statistics. At the time of the survey there were about 115 American Peace Corps volunteers in the schools and another 30 to 40 volunteers from England, Canada, Germany, and Scandinavia. Thus, the figure of 84 in column C should be approximately 150 for 1967; the two percentages are then more comparable. The only other difference of any size involves the fraction of the total made up by Europeans. In the author's opinion, one can expect the data for 1967 to show that Europeans make up between 65 and 70 percent of the total. The system has been growing rapidly, and the rate of increase in supply of Africans and Asians has been much smaller in the same period. The expansion has been made possible primarily by increasing the number of volunteers.

TABLE 3.3

COMPARISON OF TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS IN SAMPLE AND IN POPULATION [a]

Type of Teacher	Sample: Number of Respondents A	Sample: % of type B	Total Population[b]: Number C	Total Population[b]: % of type D	% of total in sample (A/C) E
Race					
Europeans	304	73%	695	63%	44%
Africans	65	16%	169	15%	39%
Asians	49	12%	239	22%	21%
Type					
Missionary	32	8%	92	8%	35%
Volunteers	61	15%	84	8%	73%
European Graduates	248	59%	563	51%	44%
Sex					
Males	303	73%	777	71%	39%
Females	114	27%	324	29%	35%
Age					
Below 30	212	51%	461	46%	46%
30 -39	127	30%	336	33%	38%
Over 40	75	18%	206	21%	36%
TOTAL	417	--	1101	--	38%

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[a] The Ministry of Education statistics were collected in March of 1966 and the survey was administered in September, 1967. The 18 month interval has caused some distortion of the differences between the percentage of teachers in the population and in the sample. Unfortunately the statistics for 1967 were not yet available when the researcher left the country.

[b] Source: Education Statistics, 1966 (Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education, 1966), Section C, Tables 8, 9, and 10.

Column E indicates the percentage which was sampled from the total population for each type of teacher. For example, out of the total number of Africans in the teaching service, 39% of them were included in the group which completed the questionnaire. Likewise, only 21% of the total number of Asian teachers completed the questionnaire. With the exception of the Asians and the volunteers discussed above, the proportion of each of the subgroups included in the sample is about 40%. This helps to support the author's assertion that sampling by school units has not seriously affected the proportion of the total population sampled for each teacher type, since the proportions of each subgroup are essentially the same as the proportion of the total population.

The remaining question which needs to be discussed concerns the number and type of non-respondents. If those who did not answer form some identifiable substrata of the population, or if within a particular subgroup the return rate is significantly different, then one must become concerned about the generalizability of the results derived from the group of respondents. Fortunately, the design of this survey was such that fairly detailed information is available about the non-respondents. Records were kept so that complete lists of non-residents could be drawn up.

Data were collected on all teachers in each of the schools included in the sample. The information came primarily from an interview with the headmaster. For each teacher present in the school the headmaster was asked to give the following information: Nationality, race, approximate age (under 30, 30 to 40, and over 40), years of teaching experience in Uganda, terms of service, and a rating on a three point scale giving the headmaster's opinion on the over-all level of activity of the teacher in school affairs. The data were checked against school records whenever they were available. The results are not completely accurate, but checks against teacher's self-report on comparable questions show a high degree of similarity. The errors occur mainly in characteristics of small subgroups; for example, there are four Europeans who have Ugandan citizenship and the headmasters were not aware of this in two cases. Likewise, for the Asians there were a number of cases where headmasters were not sure of citizenship. This information is used only for the analysis of the non-respondents, and hence the few errors in the data will not have any direct effect on the findings of the study.

A summary of the data on respondents and non-respondents is presented in Table 3.4. For each characteristic three statistics are given: the total number of questionnaires administered to members of that group, the number returned, and the percentage of questionnaires returned by that group. The categories in the different sections are not mutually exclusive, but rather represent different ways of categorizing members of the teaching population. The pattern shown in Table 3.4 indicates

TABLE 3.4

RETURN RATES FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF TEACHERS

Teacher Characteristic	Number Administered	Number Returned	Percent Returned
Nationality			
Ugandan	85	63	74%
United Kingdom	282	223	79%
United States	74	83	85%
Canada	29	20	69%
Terms of Service			
Overseas Contract	225	163	72%
Local Terms	186	144	77%
Peace Corps	49	40	82%
Missionary	46	32	72%
Years Teaching in Uganda			
Less than 1	124	102	82%
one to three	218	161	73%
three to five	75	56	75%
five to ten	69	50	72%
over ten	65	48	74%
TOTAL[a]	555	417	75%

[a] The groups do not all total to this sum because of missing data or omission of very small sub-groups.

that there are no important differences in the proportions of different groups who returned the instrument. Similar data were calculated for categories of age, race, sex, and activity rating by the headmasters. The results are similar to those presented in the table, with the return percentages varying from 70% to 80% for all groups.

The similarity of the return percentages over the different groups reinforces the impression that the reasons for not answering the questionnaire depended on a number of random variables. Those not replying tended to be teachers who were extremely busy at the time of administration, those who felt they did not understand the purpose of the questionnaire, those who missed the explanation of the instrument, or those who were not interested in completing the questionnaire. It is possible that there are important psychological dimensions that characterize those who chose not to reply, although these were not apparent to the researcher during the study.[11] Likewise, there may be some larger differences to be found by controlling for a number of variables and then looking at subgroups. However, this kind of probing does not seem to be warranted by the scope and aims of the current study.

School Effects on Patterns of Teacher Posting

The decision to sample by schools rather than by teachers made it desirable to have a quick look at possible relationships between the type of teachers in a particular school and the characteristics of the school. In other words, are there non-random tendencies which increase the chances that certain types of teachers will be assigned to certain kinds of schools? Table 3.5 and 3.6 provide this information for two of the more important characteristics of secondary schools in Uganda.

The results in Table 3.5 show that there is considerable interaction between school type and type of teachers on the staff. The numbers of Peace Corps and British Volunteer teachers are somewhat unstable and these distributions could change markedly in a short time because of the relatively short periods of service for these kinds of teachers. In contrast, the distributions of the Asians and the Missionaries are quite stable and can be expected to continue in a similar pattern unless major policy changes are made by the Ministry of Education. Current Ministry

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[11] The study was characterized by a degree of personal contact between the researcher and the teachers in the sample that is uncommon in a questionnaire study. He personally visited all schools in the sample and made the initial contacts with the teachers. Individual contact and discussion took place with as much as half of the total sample.

TABLE 3.5

DISTRIBUTION OF FOUNDING BODY OF THE SCHOOL BY TEACHER GROUP [a]

Group	Government Schools	Catholic Schools	Anglican Schools	Other Schools	Totals
British Trained	28% (37) [b]	16% (21)	51% (68)	5% (6)	100% (132)
British TEA/Volunteer	32% (12)	34% (13)	30% (11)	4% (2)	100% (38)
Peace Corps	15% (6)	25% (10)	53% (21)	7% (3)	100% (40)
Missionaries	--	84% (27)	16% (5)	--	100% (32)
Asians	88% (43)	2% (1)	6% (3)	4% (2)	100% (49)
Africans	23% (15)	26% (17)	45% (29)	6% (4)	100% (55)
TOTALS [c]	32% (113)	25% (89)	38% (137)	5% (17)	100% (356)

[a] The data in Tables 3.5 and 3.6 are based on respondents to the questionnaire. Because some of the cells have fairly small populations the data should be taken as a rough approximation of the actual distribution of teachers.

[b] The number of teachers in the group

[c] The totals do not include various small groups of teachers such as those on local terms.

policy is to treat the schools as equal when considering the assignment of teachers. However, a number of historical and social factors intervene to produce the existing uneven distributions.

The interaction between teacher assignment and the highest form in the school is presented in Table 3.6. The highest form in the school can also be taken as a good indicator of the age of the school, since those with incomplete streams (less than 4th form) are the newest schools, and those with 6th forms are generally the oldest schools in the country. Patterns similar to those in Table 3.5 emerge, indicating that there are strong relationships between the stage of development of the school and the type of teacher posted there.

Comparisons between these two tables enable one to begin to understand the complexities of the distribution of teachers in Uganda. Note, for example, that the Asians are concentrated heavily in government schools, and in schools with 6th forms. The missionaries are found almost exclusively in Catholic schools and over half of them are in schools where the 4th form is the top of the school.[12] The British contract teacher is most likely to be found in an Anglican school, and equally likely to be found in a school with a 6th form. In comparison, the Peace Corps volunteer is just as likely to be found in an Anglican school, but is most likely to be found in a school which does not have an examination form yet. It is interesting to note that the distribution of African teachers is fairly even across both of these divisions of schools.

While more of this type of analysis could be undertaken, this initial discussion should suffice for the moment. To the extent that these interactions become important during the analysis of the activities of the teachers, they will be considered further in later chapters.

To summarize these past three sections, one may note that the decision to sample by schools rather than by individual teachers seems to have led to success in selecting equal proportions of both schools and of different types of teachers even though the two categorizations are not independent. The analysis of non-respondents shows a lack of systematic relationships among various types of teachers in the sample and thus lends support to the validity of any generalizations which may be made from the sample to the population as a whole. Similarly, because the proportions of the different types of teachers in the sample is the same as those proportions in the total population, generalizations may be made from the total sample to the total population.

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[12] The apparent lack of Anglican missionaries results from the lack of comparable organizations in the Anglican church. Anglican personnel are recruited by the church, but are more often hired under contract terms than as formal missionaries.

TABLE 3.6

DISTRIBUTION OF TOP FORM IN SCHOOL BY TEACHER GROUP [a]

Group	2nd or 3rd Form	4th Form	6th Form	Totals
British Trained	7% (9) [b]	40% (53)	53% (70)	100% (132)
British TEA/Volunteer	13% (5)	40% (15)	47% (18)	100% (38)
Peace Corps	50% (20)	32% (13)	18% (7)	100% (40)
Missionaries	12% (4)	53% (17)	35% (11)	100% (32)
Asians	6% (3)	18% (9)	76% (37)	100%
Africans	38% (25)	37% (24)	25% (16)	100% (65)
TOTALS [c]	19% (66)	37% (131)	44% (159)	100% (356)

[a] The terminology of forms can be translated into American equivalents roughly as follows: 2nd form = 10th grade, 3rd form = 11th grade, 4th form = 12th grade, and 6th form = 2nd year of junior college. One should note that the last comparison is tenuous at best since 6th form represents the final step before university entrance while junior colleges represent a somewhat different thrust of curriculum and intent.

[b] The number of teachers in the group

[c] Does not include some of the smaller subgroups of teachers.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

When a fairly extensive pool of items had been constructed, an initial draft of the instrument was compiled. As requested, one copy was submitted to the Ministry of Education. While awaiting a reply from the Ministry, the author presented the remaining copies to three different teachers whom he knew personally. These copies were filled out and discussed informally. The teachers were encouraged to speak up whenever they encountered a question which was unclear, unduly biased, limiting, or obscure. Among other things, this experience enabled the author to get a much better idea of the time which a teacher would need to complete such an instrument. Difficulties with instructions were also brought to light.

By sitting and watching the teacher go through the instrument, the author was able to gauge the extent of the respondent's emotional reaction to the instrument in general and to specific questions in particular. Because of a history of difficulties with such reseach on teachers in East Africa, it was important for the author to get a measure of how the teachers would perceive the validity and usefulness of the research and how their perceptions would influence their willingness to cooperate.

Other research workers had warned that such an instrument might be perceived as an 'American' enterprise and therefore suspect. To alleviate this latter problem, several members of the Faculty of Education at Makerere University[1] read the document and helped the author eliminate distinctively American phrases. At the same time, words which might carry different meanings in England and the United States were discussed and suitable compromises were worked out. Wherever there seemed to be some confusion the informant was asked to rephrase the question so as to carry the author's intended meaning. The range of answers offered for several of the questions was extended to provide what the informants felt would be a more objective set of alternative answers.

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[1] The informants included: 1) an Englishman who had taught in a Ugandan secondary school for four years and had then become a member of the faculty, and 2) a highly educated and articulate African member of staff noted for his skill as an author and critic.

The Pretest

The final draft of the pretest was compiled on the basis of the information gained in the discussions just described and in accordance with the restrictions set by the Ministry of Education in granting permission to conduct the study. These restrictions stipulated that sixteen of the questions originally included be deleted, since it was felt that they dealt with matters considered too sensitive in the then existing political situation. Most of the deleted questions dealt with the teacher's perception of the capabilities and performance of the government or with aspects of the teacher's feeling about his own subjective competence and power in dealing with various agencies of the government. While these deletions in some ways could be regarded as cutting the heart out of the study, on further consideration it became apparent that a number of similar questions had not been cut. Here some measure of these dimensions would still be possible. The net result was to diminish the richness and the reliability of evidence on the teacher's perception of the government and his relation to it.

The schools for the pretest were selected from the group of schools remaining after the sample for the actual study had been drawn. (See previous chapter for a discussion of the sampling procedure.) Four schools were selected so as to provide instances of the various types of schools in the full sample. The schools were:

School A	A Catholic boarding school for girls, 200 miles west of Kampala.
School B	A Catholic boarding school for boys, 80 miles west of Kampala.
School C	A large, government day school for boys in Kampala.
School D	An Anglican boarding school for boys, 150 miles east of Kampala.

While these schools did not represent all possible types, they covered a wide enough range to provide information on the kinds of problems that might be encountered.

The pretest was intended to provide a trial run for both the instrument and the procedures of administration. Various approaches were tried in the four schools in an attempt to find a method which would be successful and yet feasible in terms of the resources available for the study. On the whole the results were encouraging, indicating that teachers would cooperate when approached in ways which made realistic allowance for their motivations and for the use of their time. In all, 95 questionnaires were administered and 67, or about 70%, were returned. Of those returned, about 10% were a third or more incomplete.

The opportunity provided by the pretest also allowed the author to test several other instruments intended to provide background information on the teachers and descriptive information on the characteristics of the schools. It was necessary to discover what kinds of information were readily available about the teachers, from either the headmaster or his files, and what the best way was for getting that information. An early form of a checklist of school characteristics was tested and subsequently modified considerably to provide much richer detail than had originally been thought feasible.

Finally, the pretest showed that the chances of getting questionnaires returned increased dramatically when a member of the staff was appointed as a local representative with responsibility for collecting the completed instruments. In addition, it became clear that for some kinds of schools, in particular urban day schools, much greater effort and personal contact would be needed in order to get even minimal levels of return. As a result, the final administration procedure was designed so as to allow differential levels of effort depending on the type of school, and depending on the characteristics of the staff member assisting in the school.

Coding and Analysis of the Pretest

The results of the pretest were completely coded and punched on cards. Although the process was time consuming, it proved to be of value in refining the questions and in setting up the coding scheme for the final form of the questionnaire. Then, with a mechanical card sorter, an item analysis was performed for each question. Distributions of the answers for the total sample and for each of three subsamples of teachers were obtained. The subsamples used were African teachers, British teachers, and American or Canadian teachers. With these distributions it was possible to look at the discriminating power of the items.

As the analysis of the pretest results continued, it became clear that the amount of data generated would be hard to handle unless ways were found to group results from related questions. Many of the questions had been written to tap various aspects of underlying dimensions which were considered important on either theoretical or experimental grounds. At this point, the dimensions were made more explicit and all the questions which related to a given dimension were collected into a cluster. Each of the clusters was then analyzed to see whether the items belonged together and whether the cluster was able to discriminate among different kinds of teachers.

The analysis was made by first summing the items in a cluster to arrive at a score for each individual on that cluster. Item-total score correlations were computed for each item in the cluster, and those items which had relatively high correlations with the total score were retained in the cluster. Where two items in the cluster seemed to be performing the same measurement, the one that was empirically stronger was kept. Items which had badly skewed distributions were dropped from the questionnaire. Items which didn't fit in the cluster empirically, as judged from the item-total correlations but which seemed to be valuable, were dropped from the cluster, but kept in the questionnaire.

After spending almost two months on the analysis of the pretest, the author rewrote the questionnaire, using those items which analysis showed to be most useful. A number of items which had purposely been made open-ended for the pretest were rewritten into multiple-choice questions, using the answers on the pretest as a basis for constructing the response alternatives. Such a procedure avoided forcing the answers into arbitrary and limiting categories, while at the same time it provided considerable economy in coding the final results. Usually, 90% or more of the open-ended responses could be coded into about six categories. An open-ended "other" category was inserted whenever more than about 10% of the cases did not seem to fit into the categories provided.

The questionnaire was changed in several other respects, generally with the goal of simplifying instructions and format in order to eliminate areas of confusion which had become apparent during the pretest. Respondents had been encouraged to write comments whenever they had difficulty with a question. Questions which received a large number of comments were subject to careful revision and in some cases were discussed directly with the teachers to discover the source of the difficulty. A few questions which caused very strong emotional reactions were either reworded, or in some cases dropped. It was felt that the information produced by these questions was not of sufficient value to risk alienating respondents to the point where they would refuse to finish the questionnaire.

When the final draft was completed the questionnaire was printed in a format designed to be attractive and professional: in a booklet with a heavy cover, bound so that it lay flat when opened and was easy to write in. The cover stressed connection of the research project with the Makerere Institute of Social Research, so as to provide a legitimate frame of reference for the research. From the comments of the teachers, the extra expense of putting the instrument into an attractive format seems to have been well justified although the extent to which it contributed to the final return rate cannot be determined.

The Administration of the Questionnaire

The administration of the questionnaire began in September and ran through the second week in November of 1967. Each school was visited personally by the researcher for a period of from half a day to two days, depending on the size of the school and the cooperativeness of the staff. The researcher first met with the headmaster to explain the purpose of the research and to verify with him the Ministry's permission to conduct the study. A list of the current staff members was obtained from the headmaster and he was asked to provide a number of background details on each of the teachers. (These details are discussed in the section on non-respondents.)

After the initial discussion with the headmaster, the researcher usually met with the staff during the morning tea break -- a period of about 30 minutes when the staff met informally between the first and second halves of the morning. The project was introduced with a brief statement of goals and procedures, the questionnaires were passed out -- each with a covering letter addressed to a specific teacher,[2] and then the researcher answered questions about who would have access to the completed questionnaires, how long they had to complete them, and so forth. This period of give and take was important in establishing rapport with the teachers, calming their fears about the use of the information, and dealing with their complaints about being imposed upon. During these discussions they were encouraged to make comments in the questionnaire wherever they felt a need to clarify an answer or just to give vent to their feelings.

Usually the researcher remained in the staff room for the rest of the morning talking informally with the teachers both to gain their confidence and to begin to understand their attitudes on the topics covered in the questionnaire. Sometimes, several members of the staff would have a free period and would remain in the staff room to fill in the questionnaire, raising questions whenever they came to items which they did not understand or which they disagreed with.

At some later time in the day, the researcher met with the headmaster for an hour or more. During these discussions the checklist of characteristics of the school was completed.[3] Questions which the headmaster could not answer from his own knowledge were answered by consulting the school files. Toward the end of the interview the questions became more general and open-ended to allow the headmaster to expand on his feelings and philosophy about certain aspects of the school. In addition to providing valuable insight into the running of the school, these discussions also provided the researcher with an understanding of any unique problems or situations in the school which might have special effects on the ways in which the teachers would answer the questions in the instrument. Despite their tremendous work loads the headmasters were uniformly cooperative and, in many cases, eager to discuss the school. In a number of cases the headmaster commented afterwards that the conversation had been valuable because it raised issues which he had not really considered.

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[2] As far as the respondents were concerned the returns were anonymous. However, the respondents could be identified by the researcher for purposes of tracking down non-respondents and checking validity of responses. The personalized letter attached to each questionnaire was keyed to an identification number on the questionnaire.

[3] Data gathered through the checklist are analyzed elsewhere. See the author's paper: "Secondary Schools as Agents of Socialization for National Goals." Proceedings of the East African University Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam: January, 1968 (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1968).

The remainder of the visit to the school was spent talking individually with teachers, often by sitting in the staff room and speaking with whoever happened to be free. Because the schools are generally physically isolated from towns, the researcher would frequently be invited to spend the night in the home of one of the teachers. The opportunity for extended conversation with that teacher allowed the researcher to give him a more detailed understanding of the research project and sometimes led to the teacher's acting as the project representative in that school. The representative undertook to collect the questionnaires as they were finished, remind those who were slow, and generally to provide encouragement. On the whole this procedure was very successful.

In selecting the representative in a particular school care was taken not to choose a member of staff who had a position of authority over other teachers. Thus, when in several schools the headmaster offered to collect the questionnaires, it was pointed out that this would open him to the possibility of charges of unethical use of the information and would probably lower the return rate. The teacher chosen was usually a younger member of staff who was willing to help and who was often directly interested in the research. The representative also functioned as a source of feedback to indicate how the staff had reacted after the researcher left, and provide information on the reasons why certain members of the staff had not filled in the questionnaire. In a number of cases the contact teacher brought the completed instruments back to Makerere himself and was able to discuss with the author his impressions of the study as it related to his school.

In about one third of the schools a second visit was made seven to ten days after the initial administration in order to collect completed questionnaires and to deal with any problems that had arisen after the teachers began looking at the questionnaires. With half a dozen individuals serious questions about the legitimacy of the research had to be dealt with by the researcher. Because of the uncertain research climate, the strategy adopted in such cases was one of withdrawal and conciliation in order to minimize the chances of any sort of complaint being made to the Ministry.

In the first part of November two schools were selected from those schools which had received the questionnaire in early September for the administration of the retest. The selection was not random; it was based on the researcher's pragmatic concern that the retest be administered in the two weeks which remained before the beginning of final exams. The goal was to select a few schools which: (1) would contain a reasonable spread in the types of teachers on the staff, (2) would probably be cooperative, and (3) would have had a time interval of about six weeks since the first administration. The researcher had serious doubts that it would be possible to induce teachers to complete the same instrument a second time, particularly during the tense period just before exams. To provide some incentive an honorarium of Shs. 15/- (about $2.00) was offered for completing the retest questionnaire. Surprisingly, the return rate was excellent; only three of the thirty questionnaires were not returned. Unfortunately, by the time this had been discovered, school was out and the chances of doing further retests in other schools was past.

Of the 27 teachers for whom test-retest results were available, 14 were British, 6 were American Peace Corps Volunteers, 4 were African, 2 were Asian, and 1 was Canadian. The group, while small, is at least varied and contains members of most of the major groups of concern in the study. Originally the author had considered computing test-retest reliability coefficients for some of the subgroups as well as for the over-all group, but this is clearly not worthwhile with such a small group. Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated between the test and the retest results for each item on the basis of the total group of 27.

The distribution of the coefficients of stability is presented in Table 4.1. The median value of the coefficients is about .65 and the mean is .60 for the 131 items for which it was possible to calculate the coefficient.[4] On the average, correlations for an item are based on 25 respondents. Items with stability coefficients less than .31 have not been used in further analysis unless special note is made of that fact. The average coefficient of stability for the various scales used in the analysis is indicated in the descriptive section for each scale (Appendix C).

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[4] Correlation coefficients were not calculated for about 20% of the items since the alternatives were not ordinal.

TABLE 4.1

DISTRIBUTION OF STABILITY COEFFICIENTS

Value of r	Number of Items
.91 - 1.00	5
.81 - .90	14
.71 - .80	23
.61 - .70	35
.51 - .60	20
.41 - .50	10
.31 - .40	8
.21 - .30	8
.11 - .20	4
.00 - .10	4
Median = .65 Mean = .60	TOTAL 131

Coding, Checking, and Punching the Results

Coding began during the last stages of administration and was completed in about eight weeks. All of the coding was done by the author and two assistants. While more help was available, it was decided that fewer coders meant less problems with training, interpretation, and errors. Two of the three had previously coded the pretest and were already familiar with the materials. A standard coding and checking procedure was set up between the three coders to minimize errors.

Each person coded half a questionnaire at a time, coding all the questions in that half, including the open-ended ones. Coding was recorded on a sheet made specifically for the project and containing a number of visual cues designed to prevent placing codes in the wrong cell. For example, the end of each page was marked by a double line and codes taking up more than one column were specially marked. Since about 80% of the questionnaire was precoded with the numbers for each category printed on the questionnaire, the process was efficient.

The total questionnaire required four 80-column computer cards to record all the data. The basic rule followed in coding was to preserve the maximum amount of information even though that meant coding into more categories than one intended to use later. Each card contained a six place identification number at the beginning and a card sequence number in column 80 so that machine checking of the sequence of the cards would be possible when the data were processed. Each card in the four-card sequence was a different color.

Another aspect of the coding involved making a copy of every comment written by the respondent. As already mentioned, when the instrument was administered the teachers were encouraged to write comments wherever they felt like doing so, and particularly where they were not sure of the meaning of a question. A separate record of these comments was kept so that for each question one can read all the comments made about that question. In addition, each remark was identified so that the questionnaire from which it came can be located. The frequency and content of the comments are useful in determining the validity of the various items. The comments also provide valuable insight how the respondents interpreted the question.

The coding was checked by having a person other than the coder check each code on the entire questionnaire for the first 250 questionnaires. As the questionnaires were being coded they were checked in groups of 50, and then discussions were held to agree on the meaning of the coding instructions wherever there was difficulty. Caution sheets were kept to remind coders of commonly made mistakes. After the first 100 questionnaires were coded, the error rate was quite low and remained that way throughout. Initially one might find six or eight coding errors per questionnaire, but after some practice, the coder's average fell to between one and two errors per questionnaire. Fortunately, these errors tended to fall in certain questions which were then checked on all the questionnaires.

The second half of the set of questionnaires was only partially checked. The checker would run through the pile of coded forms and check the first half of one and the second half of the following one, and so on, alternating throughout the set. The error rate remained low, and the ability to pinpoint the most probable locations of the errors made it unnecessary to check more thoroughly. Before being punched, the coding sheets themselves were checked to insure that they were correctly numbered and that the patterning of the codes were correct. Thus, for instance, certain columns would have nines in them if the respondent were an African and not otherwise, and so forth. At this time the identification numbers were also checked to insure that each card in the set had the same number.

The cards were completely punched and verified on the machines provided by the Makerere Institute of Social Research. The staff of the Institute were efficient and reliable for the pretest and were, therefore, used for the full study. Care was taken to establish a set of standard numbers so that there would be no problems with the interpretation of handwriting or of different styles in writing symbols. For example, the convention of crossing sevens was adopted in order to minimize the chances of confusing sevens with fours or nines. Subsequent analysis of the data by computer in the United States indicated a very low rate of stray or obviously erroneous punches.[5]

Having the data punched while still in the field had the added advantage of allowing some preliminary analysis while it was still possible to return to the primary sources for further details. With this goal in mind, the author tried to make use of the computer which the national government had recently installed. This attempt turned out to be frustrating since the entire installation was new and the staff still in the training stages. After considerable effort, it was possible to obtain the stability coefficients discussed above and to get the marginal distributions of the answers to most of the questions for each of the major subgroups in the population. Further analysis was not possible,

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[5] Only 15 or 20 punches were found to be outside the range of the code for a given question. For 2,000 cards of 80 columns each, this is an error rate of about .01%. This does not measure the existence of wrong punches within the range of the code for a given question, but does give an indication of the expected rate of error.

Coding, Checking, and Punching the Results

Coding began during the last stages of administration and was completed in about eight weeks. All of the coding was done by the author and two assistants. While more help was available, it was decided that fewer coders meant less problems with training, interpretation, and errors. Two of the three had previously coded the pretest and were already familiar with the materials. A standard coding and checking procedure was set up between the three coders to minimize errors.

Each person coded half a questionnaire at a time, coding all the questions in that half, including the open-ended ones. Coding was recorded on a sheet made specifically for the project and containing a number of visual cues designed to prevent placing codes in the wrong cell. For example, the end of each page was marked by a double line and codes taking up more than one column were specially marked. Since about 80% of the questionnaire was precoded with the numbers for each category printed on the questionnaire, the process was efficient.

The total questionnaire required four 80-column computer cards to record all the data. The basic rule followed in coding was to preserve the maximum amount of information even though that meant coding into more categories than one intended to use later. Each card contained a six place identification number at the beginning and a card sequence number in column 80 so that machine checking of the sequence of the cards would be possible when the data were processed. Each card in the four-card sequence was a different color.

Another aspect of the coding involved making a copy of every comment written by the respondent. As already mentioned, when the instrument was administered the teachers were encouraged to write comments wherever they felt like doing so, and particularly where they were not sure of the meaning of a question. A separate record of these comments was kept so that for each question one can read all the comments made about that question. In addition, each remark was identified so that the questionnaire from which it came can be located. The frequency and content of the comments are useful in determining the validity of the various items. The comments also provide valuable insight how the respondents interpreted the question.

The coding was checked by having a person other than the coder check each code on the entire questionnaire for the first 250 questionnaires. As the questionnaires were being coded they were checked in groups of 50, and then discussions were held to agree on the meaning of the coding instructions wherever there was difficulty. Caution sheets were kept to remind coders of commonly made mistakes. After the first 100 questionnaires were coded, the error rate was quite low and remained that way throughout. Initially one might find six or eight coding errors per questionnaire, but after some practice, the coder's average fell to between one and two errors per questionnaire. Fortunately, these errors tended to fall in certain questions which were then checked on all the questionnaires.

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[5] Only 15 or 20 punches were found to be outside the range of the code for a given question. For 2,000 cards of 80 columns each, this is an error rate of about .01%. This does not measure the existence of wrong punches within the range of the code for a given question, but does give an indication of the expected rate of error.

Based on the analysis which was completed, a roughly structured interview schedule was constructed for the purpose of probing into questions which had very low stability, or which showed interesting differences among groups. Particular emphasis was placed on the respondents' interpretation of questions which seemed unreliable or which contained phrases that seemed to have been unclear -- judging by the comments made by respondents on the questionnaires. Unfortunately, the time available for this phase of the research was short, and only a small number of interviews were completed. Those interviewed were selected for ease of access and to provide representatives of the various subgroups in the sample. Originally, it had been hoped that teachers might be selected on the basis of their responses being either high or low on some dimension, but the time and the resources available for the research did not make such a plan feasible.

Supplementary Groups Added to the Sample

Although the sample is highly representative of the composition of the teaching population at the time it was drawn, a number of new training programs for African teachers were started later and the composition of the teaching force will change somewhat in the future. To clarify some of the effects of these new training programs, two groups of respondents were added to the sample. The first group consisted of the third year students at Makerere University enrolled in the Bachelor of Education course. The questionnaires were administered during one of their class periods and a total of 24 were completed. About one-third of the group came from other East African countries to which they will be returning to teach. As a result, their answers on questions pertaining directly to Uganda are not highly relevant to our purposes. The group is important though because it represents the only sizable source of replacements for the expatriate teachers. It is presumably from this small group that those who will be influential in secondary education programs in the future will be drawn. The pace of promotion being highly accelerated, one would not be surprised to find some of these students as headmasters of secondary schools within five years. Hence, although their numbers are small, the influence of those who do enter teaching in Uganda may be considerable.

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[6] An added benefit of using a computer in the field was provided by the ability to place all of one's results on a magnetic tape which could then be hand carried home as an excellent form of insurance against loss of data.

The second group represents a new level of teacher training for Uganda which promises to provide the majority of the African teachers to be found in the schools in the future. Upon completion of secondary school, these students enter a three-year teacher training course.[7] The training is designed to prepare them to teach up through the last year of School Certificate classes. When fully operational the institution (Kyambogo) is designed to produce about 150 teachers each year which represents about 12% of the teaching force now in the schools. The questionnaire was administered to the first graduating class during their final term of study. A total of 80 were completed during a special meeting called to allow the administration of the instrument. (The total number of students in the class was about 100.) These students are important because it appears that they will form the foundation on which the teaching force in the secondary schools will be built as further expansion takes place and the supply of expatriate teachers begins to taper off.

In the analysis which is described in the rest of this study, these two groups have been treated like the teacher respondents as much as possible. The validity of such an approach is supported by the fact that these students are recent products of the secondary school system and thus directly acquainted with the situation in the schools. In addition, they have had fairly extensive periods of practice teaching in the schools during their three year training periods and hence have some basis for judging how they feel about various aspects of the school program. It is hoped that these two groups will serve as indicators of some of the effects which Africanization will have on the kinds of variables reported in this study.

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[7] The course also takes students who have completed Higher School Certificate for a period of two years rather than three.

CHAPTER V

METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Because of the complexity and extensiveness of the data, the problem of choosing an analysis procedure which would reduce the amount of information to a manageable and ordered form was somewhat challenging. There were about 120 items measuring various dependent variables and 15 or 20 related to independent variables. The study was basically designed as an exploratory survey of a fairly complex set of phenomena about which little was known beyond a great deal of unsystematic data in the form of opinions, stereotypes, and generalizations offered by educators and laymen alike. As indicated in an earlier chapter, specific research in the area was singularly lacking and hence there were only minimal theoretical bases for constructing hypotheses and structuring the observed results.

Investigation of analysis routines used by similar studies in the field of political socialization and social psychology indicated that results were generally reported item by item with varying levels of control on one or two independent variables -- most typically, amount of education of the respondent.[1] In a few cases an index was constructed from several items, and the index was used as a variable. Examples are provided by the indices of apprehension and permissiveness constructed by Lazarsfeld and Thielens in their report on professors in American universities.[2] The author felt that using approaches such as these would be feasible but would result in a report of undue length and complexity with a subsequent obscuring of important aspects due to the amount of detail presented.

It is, of course, possible to reduce the amount of detail by careful selection of results to be presented, but this raises the question of criteria to be used in selecting and rejecting items. The danger inherent in such a procedure is that personal biases or a misunderstanding of the situation will result in the omission of important data. The danger is particularly great when there are no strong theoretical guidelines as to what kinds of information are probably most relevant. As a result, the author attempted to find a procedure which would allow most of the data to be retained, but at the same time would reduce it to a manageable amount suitable for presentation.

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[1] The trend setting model was provided by the classic work of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1965). A more recent example in the same field is the work of Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967).

[2] P. F. Lazarsfeld and W. Thielens, The Academic Mind (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

Many of the items had been written with certain dimensions of teacher attitudes in mind, and in a few cases the items had been consciously constructed in a parallel form with the intent of using them as a scale.[3] The analysis of the pretest was based in part on an attempt to construct about fifteen clusters of items which seemed, on an a priori basis, to relate to the same aspect of teachers' feelings and perceptions. When the analysis of the final results was begun these clusters seemed like a logical place to start in attempting to construct indices.

First, the data had to be 'cleaned' and recoded in order to make them amenable to various statistical manipulations. This meant removing codes which indicated a "don't know" or extraneous responses, deleting codes which indicated multiple responses, and removing codes which fell outside the range defined for that item. Where necessary, items were then recoded in order to have the high end of the scale represent the same end of a continuum for all questions relating to a given topic. In a number of items the original coding was categorical, but the content was such that they could be grouped into ordinal categories. For example, a question asking people to state the population of Uganda was originally coded to indicate the exact response. These categories were regrouped to indicate the accuracy of the response ranging from "don't know" to the correct answer.

It should be noted at this point that the recoding of the data need not be permanent and is easily changed using the technique of analysis which was applied in this study. To recode a question a control statement is written indicating the codes which are to be changed into other codes and then the data for that item are taken from the storage tape, recoded by the computer, and stored in a new file which will be used for subsequent calculations. At any time the initial coding can be used to change the coding in the saved file back to the original coding or to some different coding which is now desired.[4] When the recoding process is complete the new file contains all the items in their recoded format and the initial data remain unchanged on the storage tape.

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[3] An example is the scale on attitudes toward traditional customs and values. See Appendix C.2, scale 7.

[4] The package of routines used for much of the analysis in this study is called the "Statistical Package for the Social Sciences" (SPSS) and was developed at Stanford in connection with the Institute of Political Studies by C. H. Hull, N. Nie, and D. Bent.

One additional facility afforded by the system is the ability to tag certain values for a given item as 'missing.' The effect is to have the cases containing these values deleted from statistical computations involving that item. The most common case is the value of zero which usually stands for 'no response' and is not wanted in calculations of means or other statistics regarding the distribution of responses on an item. The ability to specify a 'missing' value is, in effect, a supplement to the recoding property discussed in the previous paragraph. The two procedures are used together to give maximum control over the manipulation of the data. A good example of the differential use of the two procedures is provided by a situation where a number of small subgroups of respondents are lumped together in an 'other' category by means of the recode. The code for the 'other' category is then specified as a 'missing' value, which means that it is included in the new file and is available for display in cross tabulations but that it will not be included in statistical calculations for that item.

In this study a complete new file was constructed from the recoded items with each item having a suitable tag for missing values. Items which seemed to belong together, on the basis of their content and on the basis of their behavior in the pretest, were grouped into clusters from which it was hoped to construct indices. Pearson correlation coefficients were obtained for all item pairs in each of these clusters.[5] By inspecting these correlations it became clear that certain items bore little or no relation to the other items in the cluster and were unlikely candidates for inclusion in the index.

After each cluster had been pruned of unpromising items, standardized scores were computed for each item and then the items were summed to form an index value for each case on each of the clusters. Item-total correlations were computed with item deletion from the total and Cronbach Alpha coefficients of internal consistency were calculated. On the basis of these results the scales were modified and a second draft of them was constructed. The second draft included a few new items discovered by running the initial index values against all the dependent variables as part of an exploratory process to see if certain relevant items had been neglected.[6] Items with very low item-total correlations were dropped from the scales at this stage.

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[5] The analysis of the items and the construction of indices was based on the total set of respondents (523), including the students from the teacher training institutions.

Factor Analysis

During this process a number of observers remarked that the above process amounted to a crude form of factor analysis and suggested that the support for the indices finally derived would be much stronger if a factor analysis revealed similar clusters of items. Kerlinger[7] points out that one of the strengths of factor analysis lies in its ability to help validate scales purporting to represent some underlying construct. He also indicates that factor analysis is one of the most powerful exploratory tools available to the social scientist who is trying to reduce a large number of variables to a smaller set of underlying variables which represent meaningful dimensions. The usefulness of these new variables needs to be tested, of course, by further experimentation and analysis.

Accordingly it was decided to run a factor analysis on those items which had been considered for inclusion in the original clusters. Items which had very low test-retest reliability, items which had badly skewed marginal distributions, and items where comments indicated unclear wording were eliminated from the over-all total of some 120 dependent variables and were not used in the factor analysis. The net result was a collection of 80 items to be used as input into the factor analysis, including all those items which had already been tentatively placed in scales.

The factor analysis was run several different times with different criteria governing the number of factors rotated in order to get a good feeling for the structure of the data. In all cases the rotation was an orthogonal, varimax type based on the oblimin criteria. Kaiser normalizations were used and the rotations were performed to maximize a simplicity criterion. Rotation continued until the change in the criterion produced by a rotation was less than 10^{-5}. For a detailed discussion of the computational procedure used the reader is referred to the discussion in the Biomedical Computer Programs.[8]

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[6] The author is indebted to Dr. R. Heath of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching for his useful suggestions and advice on methods of scale construction.

[7] F. N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 680.

It was decided that the initial input to the program would be in the form of a matrix of correlation coefficients. If the scores on each item are input, then one must deal only with complete cases. Because there were 80 items, using only those cases which had responded to all 80 would substantially reduce the size of the sample used in the calculations. One can produce "complete" cases by substituting the mean value wherever a piece of missing data occurs for a given variable, or, alternatively, one can compute the correlation coefficients for each pair of items using the total number of cases in the sample where the two items in the pair were present. The latter technique has the advantages of making maximum use of the information present in the data and also avoids whatever biasing effects might occur by substituting the means for the missing values. Note the usefulness of the missing value tag described above. To select the cases for a given correlation coefficient, the program deletes all cases where either of the variables has a value defined as missing.

After deciding what type of factor analysis is desired, one must specify two other parameters before the analysis can proceed: the number of factors to be rotated or the minimum size of latent roots which will be accepted, and estimates of the communality for each item. Because the first run was of an exploratory nature, communality estimates were set at 1.0 indicating that the program would attempt to use all of the variance of each item.[9] The number of factors to be rotated was not specified explicitly since there were no reasons to expect any particular number. Instead, the minimum latent root was specified to be 1.0 and all factors with a latent root greater than 1.0 were to be kept for rotation.[10] Finally, the number of iterations for the estimates of the communalities was specified as one.

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[8] The specific program used was number BMDX72 which is contained in a mimeographed supplement to the published manual. The reference for the manual is W. J. Dixon (ed.), BMD Biomedical Computer Programs (No. 2; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

[9] For a discussion of the various estimates of communality and their usefulness see B. Fruchter, Introduction to Factor Analysis (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954), p. 51.

[10] The author was assisted in the decisions on the selection of parameters for the factor analysis by Dr. R. Snow of the Stanford School of Education. His advice was particularly valuable on those aspects of factor analysis which rely on experience and judgment in making a choice between alternate procedures.

Under the conditions specified above, the factor analysis produced a total of 24 factors with a latent root greater than one. These factors accounted for 62% of the total variance. The number of rotations was terminated at 50 (the upper limit of the program) since the simplicity criterion failed to decrease to an increment of 10^{-5}. The final value of the simplicity criterion was -27.858063 and the average increment over the last 15 rotations was about 5×10^{-4}. There seemed to be little, if any, convergence during these last rotations. The final communality estimates for the 80 items ranged from .48 to .79 with a mean value of .624.

The pattern of loadings of items on the rotated factors proved to be encouraging. The items loaded by more than ±.30 were spread fairly evenly among the factors with an average of 4.25 items for the first 16 factors and the remaining eight factors having either one or two items each. Even more encouraging was the similarity between most of the larger factors and the scales which had previously been constructed. Five of the factors were identical with the earlier scales with the exception of one item either being added or deleted and two of the factors contained exactly the same items as the earlier scales.

Having discovered something about the over-all structure of the relationships among the items under the most general conditions, it was decided to run the analysis again with more specific constraints.[11] In particular, the somewhat unrealistic use of unity for the communality estimates was dropped and the final communality estimates produced by the first run were inserted as the initial estimates for the second run. The limitation on the value of the latent root was removed and the number of factors to be rotated was set at 20. The purpose of these changes was to clean up the factors by reducing the amount of error variance included from each item and by dropping some of the splinter factors containing only one or two items.

The results of the second factor analysis were similar to those of the first but produced a more interpretable set of factors. These factors form the basis of the indices used in the rest of the study and the results of the factor analysis will be presented in as much detail as is feasible.[12] The twenty factors which were rotated accounted for

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[11] G. V. Glass and P. A. Taylor indicate that it is preferable to apply several techniques of factor analysis using different methods of extracting factors, estimating communalities, and rotating solutions. "Factor Analytic Methodology," Review of Educational Research, XXXVI, No. 5 (December, 1966), p. 581.

[12] Fruchter discusses the types of data which should be presented (*op. cit.*, p. 154). His guidelines will be followed in presenting the

48% of the total variance, and the eigenvalue of the twentieth factor was 0.782. The final communalities used in this run ranged from 0.258 to 0.760 and had a mean value of 0.477. The number of rotations was 50 because the difference between the simplicity criterion between rotations failed to decrease to a value of 10^{-5}. The average difference over the last 15 rotations was about 3×10^{-4} and, as before, there was no noticeable trend of convergence during these last rotations. The final value of the simplicity criterion was -26.206100.

In Table 5.1 all the factors are presented with the items which have loadings of more than .30. The final communality values are presented for each item on the right hand side of the table. The items are labeled with a short mnemonic name and are numbered to correspond with the order of the 80 items initially entered into the factor analysis.[13] A complete list of the names and the items is located in Appendix C.1. Those items which are used in indices are presented in Appendix C.2 and will be explained in the text when the indices are discussed.

Items which load on more than one factor are listed in the factor on which they load highest, and their loading on other factors is indicated in parentheses. For instance in Factor XV the item LOCGOV also loads on Factors I and III with the weights of .30 and -.36, respectively. Six items out of the total of eighty fail to reach a loading of .30 on any factor. Of the seventy-four items that do load at .30 or higher, on some factor, eleven of them are split between factors, with two of those eleven loading on three factors with a weight of .30 or better. The six items which did not load on any factor are indicated by an asterisk in Appendix C.1. The final estimate for the communality of each of the six is between 0.25 and 0.30.

Further details of the results of the factor analysis are presented in Appendix A. These include the eigenvalues for the factors, the cumulative variance for the factors, and the loadings of the items on the unrotated and rotated factor matrix.

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results of this study to the extent that the computer program makes the information available.

[13] The SPSS package of statistical routines allows all variables to be referred to by name and thereby considerably simplifies the writing of control cards. However, these names are limited to a maximum length of eight characters which produces somewhat awkward labels. After encountering them a few times though, the reader will find himself able to translate them into the question for which they stand.

TABLE 5.1

FACTOR LOADINGS ON FACTORS I - XX

Item No.	Item Name	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Final Communality
	I							
61	PARATTD	.72						.62
60	PPLBKGD	.66						.57
67	VSTHOME	.64						.61
66	METPRNT	.62	(-.34 on Factor XII)					.71
	II							
32	SATPRFS		.68					.59
30	ADQPAR		.65					.56
29	PARSCH		.52					.51
31	PUPDSAT		.52					.39
47	COMCHNL		.46					.36
	III							
24	INFLMOE			.77				.68
23	EXPMOE			.68				.58
25	TRYINFL			.56				.49
18	FRQRAD			.46				.48
19	RADUGD			.43	(.32 on Factor XV)			.50
48	GOVPROG			.40				.38
44	BRKLWS			.38				.37
	IV							
70	BRDPRC				.55			.48
69	PLYGMY				.51			.50
72	EXTFMY				.51			.38
71	INICER				.50			.35
	V							
12	ADTIME					-.74		.62
13	TOTTIME					-.80		.75
36	CHGSCH					-.33		.39
	VI							
54	CRCREL						.66	.59
55	EXMREL						.62	.49
37	PUBSCH						.53	.43
73	SATPROD					(.36 on Factor II)	.45	.55
51	SYLREV						.44	.50

TABLE 5.1 cont.

Item No.	Item Name	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	Final Communality
				Factors					
	VII								
6	CONSTTN	.61							.56
7	LEGPROC	.49	(.38 on Factor XV)						.59
21	FRQDSC	.32							.40
	VIII								
74	PPLNTL		.60						.58
75	PPLCLVR		.58						.56
79	PPLAMB		.52						.41
76	PPLLZY		.51						.42
77	PPLHNST		.43						.45
78	PPLQST		.41						.38
	IX								
15	SOCLUB			.70					.59
56	PRNTKNW			.36					.47
26	TCHINFO			-.31					.31
65	NOASNS			-.34					.44
	X								
3	PCAPINC				.59				.40
	XI								
45	CONCLSS					-.53			.53
28	EXPOPN					-.52			.37
22	NOTDSC					-.48			.34
52	POLED					-.45			.38
27	DSCLSS					-.36			.45
	XII								
17	TOTPAP						-.71		.65
16	ARGPLP						-.67		.56
80	MNSTRKN						-.60		.56
64	NOAFRN			(.37 on Factor XV)			-.44		.51
1	POPUGNDA						-.35		.30
	XIII								
46	PRFELCT							.60	.43
33	DEMORG							.58	.49
49	STRGOV							-.34	.33

TABLE 5.1 cont.

Item No.	Item Name	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX	Final Communality
	XIV								
57	AREASTD	.65							.54
58	NOBKSRD	.31							.39
	XV								
62	POLSTR		.78						.76
63	CULSTR		.68						.64
9	EDSYS		.45						.42
4	AGRUGD		.43						.54
8	LOCGOV		.42(.30 on Factor I and -.36 on III)						.56
59	TOTLANG		.40(-.35 on Factor XII and -.31 on XIX)						.58
	XVI								
40	SCHISO			.54					.45
38	SCHCOM			.43					.33
39	SATRLTN			.32 (.32 on Factor II)					.54
10	LANGAFR			-.38 (.32 on Factor I)					.59
	XVII								
41	COMACT				.54				.38
20	LOCOFL				.41 (.35 on Factor I)				.43
53	PPLJOB				.32				.35
	XVIII								
14	ACTSTRT					.67			.54
	XIX								
35	CHGSYL						.64		.50
	XX								
11	TOTCHLD							.59	.47
5	INDDEV		(.30 on Factor X and .30 on XV)					.31	.55

Computing Factor Scores

The decision to use the factors as the basis for index construction requires that the factors which seem to be useful and meaningful be chosen, that the selection of those items included in the factor be made, and that a suitable summation procedure be set up to compute the indices for each case. The question of the selection of factors and their interpretation will be taken up in some detail in the next chapter. The remainder of this section will deal with the general rules for selection of items and the procedure for computing factor scores.

The basic rule adopted for selection of items to be used in a given index was simply that all items with factor loadings above 0.30 would be used. In the case of multiple loadings, the following guidelines were established: items loading on two factors would be included whenever the loading was greater than 0.35 (which could be on both factors), and items loading on three factors would only be included in factors where their loading was above 0.40. In a few cases deviations from these guidelines were permitted. The reasons for the deviations are discussed when those particular indices are described.

The standard methods for computing factor scores generally involve summing all the variables which load on the factor above a certain level with each variable weighted by an amount equal to its loading on the factor. A recent critique of such an approach indicates, however, that from a theoretical point of view almost all of the commonly used techniques are in error.[14] Glass and Maguire show that the only correct way to compute factor scores involves the use of the inverse of the factor pattern and hence contains contributions from all the variables in the analysis. The major difficulty with the commonly used procedures is that they produce factor scores which can have substantial non-zero correlations even though the factors are orthogonal and hence uncorrelated. After some discussion it was decided that the standard approach would be used since correlations among the indices so produced would not be detrimental to the purpose for which they were intended in this study.[15] To indicate the extent to which the resulting indices deviate from independence, a complete matrix of the correlation coefficients between the indices was constructed. (See Table A.4 in Appendix A.)

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[14] G. V. Glass and T. O. Maguire, "Abuses of Factor Scores," American Educational Research Journal, III, No. 4 (November, 1966), pp. 297-304.

[15] The difficulty with applying the correct method in this study is twofold: (1) the input must consist of the individual cases if factor scores are to be produced by the computer program and hence the problem of missing data must be solved, and (2) the time to compute these scores for 80 variables in each index would be considerable, even on the computer. An added difficulty is presented by the task of interpreting the significance of factors based on loadings of all 80 variables.

Finally, a decision was made on the methods to be used in cases where not all of the items in the index were answered. For an index containing four or less than four items, only complete cases would be accepted. Incomplete cases would receive a missing value appropriately tagged. For an index containing five items a case would be accepted if at least four out of the five had been answered. For an index containing six or more items a maximum of two unanswered items would be allowed. The total for each case would, of course, be adjusted to take into account the number of items answered.

The computational procedure for an index contains the following steps. First the variables are standardized so that each has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of unity. If unstandardized scores are used the effect is an implicit weighting scheme with the weights proportional to the standard deviation of the distribution of values for each variable. For a given case, each variable value is multiplied by the factor loading of that item on the factor as indicated in Table 5.1. The index is then computed by summing these products over all items contained in the index and dividing by the sum of all the weights for those items. Thus, if the index contained four items whose factor loadings were 0.7, 0.6, 0.4, and 0.3 the sum of the products of the item values and these weights would be divided by 2.0, which is the sum of the four weights.

If some of the items are not answered in a particular case, then the calculation procedure must keep track of how many items have not been answered and which items they were. In the above example, for instance, if the second question was not answered then the total would consist of the products produced by the first, third, and fourth items. The sum of these products would then be divided by 1.4 which is the total of the factor loadings for the three questions which were answered. The effect of this technique is to produce comparable scores even though different cases may not have answered all of the questions. Dividing by the sum of the factor loadings takes into account both the number of questions answered and the relative importance of those questions in the over-all index. An example of a program to compute the value for one of the indices used in the study is presented in Table A.3 in Appendix A.

Reliability of the Indices

Once an index has been constructed, the question of its reliability arises. The data available in this study provide evidence about two different types of reliability. The test-retest data permit one to measure the stability of the index over time as indicated by the average coefficient of stability for the items in the index. Analysis of the variance of the items contained in the index, in comparison to the variance of the index itself, gives one an estimate of the homogeneity of the index, i.e., the extent to which the items contained in the index are of similar difficulty, have comparable variances, and tend to intercorrelate. Cronbach's Alpha provides a commonly used measure of the internal consistency of an index and is calculated for each of the indices produced from the factor scores. The formula used for computation is as follows:[16]

$$r = \frac{n}{n - 1} \left(1 - \frac{\Sigma V_i}{V_t}\right)$$

where V_i is the variance of the i^{th} item in the index, V_t is the variance of the total score for the index, and n is the number of items in the index.

In order to apply the formula to this study, scale values were calculated for only those cases which were complete and thus needed no division by the weighting factors. Standardized scores for the items were used with the result that the V_i of each item was unity and the calculation of the coefficient of internal consistency was somewhat simplified. It was assumed that the measure of internal consistency obtained from the complete cases would be applicable to the scales calculated with incomplete cases as described above. The average increase in the number of cases included by allowing partial cases was 71, which represents an average increase of about 17% over the number of complete cases available.

Of the thirteen factors for which scale scores were initially computed, all but three of them had coefficients of internal consistency greater than 0.50.[17] The three with the lower coefficients were the factors composed of only two or three items. The average coefficient of reliability, including the low values, was .565 with a range of .11 to .78. The value for each index will be reported when that index is discussed in the text. A summary of the properties of each index can be found in Appendix C.

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[16] R. C. Tryon presents a very complete discussion of the assumptions underlying the various computational formulas for reliability and a clear exposition of the relationships between them. The formula shown above is known variously as Cronbach's Alpha, as L_3 by Guttman, and is a more general statement of the Kuder-Richardson Formula for dichotomous items. "Reliability and Behavior Domain Validity: Reformulation and Historical Critique," Psychological Bulletin, LIV, No. 3 (1957), pp. 229-249.

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[17] T. L. Kelley gives the minimum level of the reliability coefficient as 0.50 when the purpose is to evaluate the level of group accomplishment based on the assumption that the test must permit discriminations of a difference as small as 0.26 times the standard deviation of a grade group with the chances five to one of being correct. Interpretation of Educational Measurements (Yonkers, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1927) cited by R. L. Thorndike. "Reliability," in E. F. Lindquist (ed.), Educational Measurement (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1951), p. 609.

CHAPTER VI

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES: DEFINITION OF TEACHER GROUPS

Two alternative strategies of analysis were considered for this study: defining groups of teachers on an a priori basis using salient background variables, or constructing groups of teachers on the basis of their position on important indices constructed from the dependent variables. After some preliminary study of the data, the decision was made to use the first method in this study although the second method was not entirely ruled out and may be used later on certain aspects of the data.[1]

Of the various background variables which distinguish teachers, nationality is probably one of the most important. Each nation has its own political culture into which the teachers, as citizens, are socialized as they grow up. The teachers acquire a set of expectations about the role of government, the role of an individual vis-a-vis the government, and they acquire a sense of personal subjective competence in dealing with the government. The fact that there are significant differences in these expectations on the part of citizens in different nations is well documented by the work of Almond and Verba. Their discussion, in the Civic Culture,[2] of the differences between American and British political cultures is particularly relevant since those two nations supply most of the expatriate teachers in Uganda.

The decision to use nationality as one of the distinguishing background variables is based on the implicit hypothesis that responses and expectations toward government learned in the home culture will transfer more or less intact to the new situation found in Uganda. There will, of course, be changes in specific details of the responses, particularly since expatriates do not have the status of citizens, but their underlying expectations, which form the basis of their judgments of government performance, are unlikely to change significantly.

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[1] The technique of discriminant analysis was investigated but the decision was made not to use it initially in the hopes that the primary analysis would suggest better guidelines for its use at a later stage.

[2] G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, originally published by Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 315.

Nationality also appears to be related to a number of other important differences. Of particular interest is the orientation of the teachers toward education and the role of secondary schools. It is a well known adage that teachers' attitudes and behavior are strongly affected by what they remember of the teachers from their own school experiences. Because the schools reflect significant value orientations and important characteristics of the society in which they exist, teachers from different nations can be expected to reflect these differences in their conceptions of the purpose of education. Thus, for example, British and American teachers will tend to act in ways which correspond to the clear differences in purpose and underlying philosophy between the 'Public School' in England and the public school in the United States.[3] Each will be trying, in part, to create the type of school situation which his own society considers desirable.

A somewhat different but complementary approach to defining teacher groups is provided by the concept of the third culture as discussed by John Useem in his analysis of Americans working in India.[4] The third culture consists of the patterns of interaction which are created and shared by men of two different societies who are working together on some task. A secondary school in Uganda provides a good example of an interface between two societies -- primarily British and African -- where a pattern of interactions between the two cultures exists. Useem distinguishes three generations of the third culture depending on the previous experience of an individual with a third culture and on whether that experience was with a colonial third culture or a post-independence one. The latter type is characterized by relationships between members which are "coordinate, rational, developmental, and modern-oriented."[5]

Teachers in Uganda can be characterized by their experience with third culture situations. There are those for whom this is an initial experience with a shared culture, those who have had some experience with a third culture since independence, and those whose experience with the third culture dates back to pre-independence days. The groups finally chosen for use in this study coincide in part with these categories.

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[3] For a discussion of the difference between British and American schools in terms of the amount and type of political socialization provided see: R. Rose, Politics in England (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1964), pp. 65-72.

[4] J. Useem, "Work Patterns of Americans in India," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CCCLXVIII (November, 1966), pp. 146-156.

[5] Useem, Ibid., p. 146.

Volunteer teachers would fall in the 'first-time-out' category, while teachers on contract would be split between the first and second categories. Missionaries would tend to fall in the pre-independence category as would many of the Asian teachers. In some cases the categorization may be based more on the constellation of attitudes and values which the teacher is expected to have than on the objective fact of the teacher's experience with a third culture. The author has not attempted a rigorous application of these categories, and has definitely not set out to test the categories empirically. Rather, they form a set of ideas useful in the ordering of teachers and in selecting questions to be asked once the groups are formed.

Finally, the choice of group definition also tends to coincide with the administrative realities faced by Uganda. There are a number of different sources of teachers available to the government, but, having selected a given source, the government does not have much control over what kinds of people are selected from that source. It is of more practical value to know approximately what to expect from a given source than it is to know about specific characteristics within that source. However, this approach is useful only so long as the differences among sources tend to be more significant than the differences within sources. Fortunately, different sources tend to coincide with nationality and ethnic differences which turn out to be major determinants of teacher characteristics.

Description of the Teacher Groups

Applying the criteria just discussed resulted in a total of ten different groups. The groups and their defining characteristics are listed below. The percentage figure in parentheses at the end of the groups shows the proportion of the total sample of teachers (excluding students) contained in that group.

1. British Trained: These are British teachers who are trained and generally experienced. They are employed at relatively high salaries on two year contracts (32%).
2. British Volunteer: This group contains the genuine volunteers with the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO) and Graduate Volunteer Service Overseas (GVSO) program. They are generally untrained and serve for periods of six months to two years. Their pay is a subsistence allowance. The group also contains the Teachers for East Africa (TEA) group. (TEA teachers constitute 40% of the British volunteer group.) These teachers are recent graduates who undergo a one-year teacher training course at Makerere University in Uganda, and are then placed in schools at full

salaries for a two-year period of teaching. Their inclusion in this group is really a hypothesis that their characteristics are more similar to those of the volunteers than to those of the trained teachers. Both their youth and the socialization that occurs during their year at Makerere should contribute to their approach to teaching (9%).

3. British Local: These are primarily wives of British civil servants. They are employed on local terms (about 2/3 the salary of the teachers on contract) and are generally trained and experienced teachers, most of whom are found in urban day schools (5%).

4. U.S. Peace Corps: The group consists entirely of American Peace Corps volunteers. They are paid a subsistence allowance comparable to that of the British volunteers and serve two year terms with the option of extending for one more year. Approximately half of the volunteers were originally trained for Uganda; another 40% were trained for Tanzania, and the remainder were trained for West African countries. The latter two groups were sent to Uganda because of political difficulties in the countries for which they were originally trained (10%).

5. Missionaries: This group consists of all those teachers who are on Beecher terms. (Their salary is about 1/2 that of the teachers on contract.) This group violates the nationality homogeneity; the sample consists of British (40%), American (25%), French-Canadian (12%), and other European (Italians, Germans and Dutch) teachers. They tend to serve for long terms and are frequently in positions of authority in the schools. There are a few teachers in the first group (British trained) who might better be classified as missionaries. For example, there are a number of Anglicans who have taught in Uganda for some time and are essentially missionaries although they are on contract terms (7%).

6. Asians: All the Asian teachers are included in this group regardless of their nationality (40% hold British passports, 30% are citizens of Uganda, and 30% are citizens of India) or background. They are almost all on local terms, and about half of them have been teaching for long periods in Uganda (12%).

7. Africans: This group contains all the Africans teaching in the schools. They are all on local terms. Their length of service varies depending on the availability of more prestigious jobs with the government and in business (16%).

8. Makerere: This group is composed of the third year students in the Bachelor of Education course at Makerere University. They completed the questionnaire during their last term at the university before becoming teachers. About one third of this group comes from outside of Uganda, and will be returning to their own countries to teach. (Most of the non-Ugandans come from Kenya.)

9. Kyambogo: This group is composed of finalists in the teacher training course at the National Teachers College. They have their School Certificates, and in some cases Higher School Certificates, and have been given three years of teacher training. This is a new program for training teachers and will be the largest source of Ugandan teachers for the secondary schools during the next five to ten years.

10. Others: This is a miscellaneous group containing a sprinkling of other nationalities not provided for above (e.g., Danish and Norwegian volunteers, Canadians, and Americans who are not Peace Corps). This group will not be used in the analysis (9%).

To summarize, seven of these groups represent teachers in the schools and two of them represent important sources of African teachers. As is apparent from the definitions of the groups, the teaching population is complex, and occasional arbitrary decisions were necessary in defining these groups for analysis. In each case there is some characteristic which establishes the identity of the group as distinct from any other. For example, the Asians are put together under the hypothesis that the effect of their ethnic culture is probably stronger than the effect of nationality or training. In some cases further subdivisions could be made but the size of the groups and the complexity of the analysis argue against it. Where other independent variables such as age or length of service seem particularly important to the interpretation of results, an attempt will be made to indicate the effect of those variables.

Demographic Characteristics of Teacher Groups

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a comparative description of the groups in terms of demographic variables. It will be seen that in some cases the distribution of characteristics interacts strongly with the groups. A knowledge of these interactions is an important prerequisite for the task of trying to understand relationships between the groups and the dependent variables. In what follows, only the more important tables will be included in the text. Tables for the remainder of the distributions will be found in Appendix B.

As shown in Table 6.1, the percentage of women rises significantly above the average (24%) in only two groups: the British Local (91%) which is almost entirely women, and the Peace Corps group (48%) which is nearly half women. The men dominate heavily in two groups: the British Trained (89%) and the Kyambogo training group (91%). The effects of sex may be confounded further by the interaction with school types since women tend to be posted to girls schools.

Another independent variable which varies greatly across the groups is the average age of the teacher. Table 6.2 shows the range of ages for each teacher group and also gives an average age calculated by taking the middle value of each interval. In four of the groups the average age is 25 years or less. These are the two groups in training and the two volunteer groups. The Missionaries and the Asians are the oldest groups; the Africans and the Trained British are slightly younger than the Asians. The average age for the entire group is just over 30 years and is indicative of the distribution which can be expected in the near future when those in training have entered the teaching force. The average age of those actually teaching at the time of the study was 32.4.

The variation in the number of years spent teaching in Uganda for each of the groups is shown in Table 6.3. There are large differences in the average time spent teaching, ranging from 0.9 years for the Peace Corps to 7.2 years for the Missionaries. On the whole, it is the expatriates who have averages of about two years and the Africans and the Asians who have averages over five years. The missionaries, of course, are exceptional since most of them are also expatriates. The distribution of teaching experience in Uganda is perhaps better described as being bimodal with 66% of the teachers having an average teaching experience of 2.1 years, while the remaining 34% of the teachers have an average experience of six years. Such a turnover pattern has important implications for teacher dimensions like awareness of national affairs.

The picture is quite different when one looks at the amount of teaching experience which the expatriates bring with them.[6] The group labeled British Trained is the largest group and its members have, on the average, four years of teaching experience before they arrive in Uganda. The British teachers on local terms have nearly as much experience, with an average of 3.4 years. The missionaries bring less experience with them (1.6 years), but their length of service in Uganda is longer. The two volunteer groups bring the least amount of experience, approximately half a year on the average for both groups. They do differ in that the Peace Corps teacher normally has some training and practice teaching experience during the three month orientation course, whereas the Volunteers

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[6] See Table B.1 in Appendix B entitled "Previous Teaching Experience by Teacher Groups."

TABLE 6.1

SEX DISTRIBUTION BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Male	Female	Group	Male	Female
British Trained	89% (116)[a]	11% (15)	Asians	69% (34)	31% (15)
British TEA/Vol	66% (25)	34% (13)	Africans	83% (54)	17% (11)
British Local	9% (2)	91% (21)	Makerere	71% (17)	29% (7)
Peace Corps	52% (21)	48% (19)	Kyambogo	91% (74)	9% (7)
Missionaries	78% (25)	22% (7)	Others	68% (26)	32% (12)
GRAND TOTAL	Men = 76%(394),	Women = 24% (127)			

[a] The number of teachers in the group.

TABLE 6.2

AGE DISTRIBUTION BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35 to 39	40 or Over	Average Age
British Trained	11% (14)[a]	35% (47)	24% (32)	14% (18)	16% (21)	32.7 years (132)
British TEA/Vol	61% (23)	30% (11)	2% (1)	5% (2)	2% (1)	25.0 years (38)
British Local	22% (5)	30% (7)	13% (3)	26% (6)	9% (2)	31.2 years (23)
Peace Corps	65% (26)	33% (13)	2% (1)	--	--	23.9 years (40)
Missionaries	3% (1)	6% (2)	19% (6)	19% (6)	53% (17)	41.9 years (32)
Asians	11% (5)	33% (16)	6% (3)	19% (9)	31% (15)	35.9 years (48)
Africans	9% (6)	34% (22)	20% (13)	19% (12)	18% (12)	33.6 years (65)
Makerere	46% (11)	37% (9)	17% (4)	--	--	25.5 years (24)
Kyambogo	83% (67)	15% (12)	2% (2)	--	--	23.0 years (81)
Others	11% (4)	32% (12)	18% (7)	21% (8)	18% (7)	33.7 years (38)
TOTALS	31% (162)	29% (151)	14% (72)	12% (61)	14% (75)	30.6 years (521)

[a] Number of teachers in the group.

TABLE 6.3

DISTRIBUTION OF YEARS SPENT TEACHING IN UGANDA BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Less Than 3 Months	3 to 12 Months	12 to 21 Months	21 to 36 Months	3 to 5 Years	5 to 10 Years	Over 10 Years	Average No. of Years
British Trained	21% (27)[a]	14% (18)	8% (11)	26% (34)	20% (28)	7% (9)	4% (5)	2.6 Years (132)
British TEA/Vol	32% (12)	13% (5)	18% (7)	21% (8)	10% (4)	3% (1)	3% (1)	1.8 Years (38)
British Local	13% (3)	20% (5)	30% (7)	17% (4)	9% (2)	9% (2)	--	2.0 Years (23)
Peace Corps	10% (4)	73% (29)	10% (4)	7% (3)	--	--	--	0.9 Years (40)
Missionaries	7% (2)	3% (1)	--	3% (1)	16% (5)	42% (13)	29% (9)	7.2 Years (31)
Asians	4% (2)	13% (6)	8% (4)	14% (6)	6% (3)	15% (7)	40% (19)	6.6 Years (47)
Africans	8% (5)	12% (8)	8% (5)	12% (8)	16% (10)	25% (16)	19% (12)	5.1 Years (64)
Others	26% (10)	13% (5)	29% (11)	16% (6)	8% (3)	3% (1)	5% (2)	2.0 Years (38)
TOTALS	16% (65)	18% (77)	12% (49)	17% (70)	13% (55)	12% (49)	12% (48)	3.5 Years (413)

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[a] The number of teachers in the group.

from England have only a short orientation which does not include any discussion of teaching methods.

The attitudes and values which a teacher brings to the teaching job can be assumed to depend on a number of background variables in addition to his training. One of the most important sources of influence is the social and economic status of the teacher's family. As an indicator of this status, teachers were asked to give the occupation and educational level of their fathers. Both of these measures present difficulties when comparisons are to be made across national lines, but after some consideration it was decided to use the level of education as the primary indicator of the status of the family. The occupational classifications will be used to support the classifications by education in cases where doubts occur.

Table 6.4 gives the complete breakdown of level of education of the fathers within each group of teachers. The last column contains the average number of years of education for the fathers in that group. These averages are calculated by using the number of years indicated in square brackets below the titles for each column as the values for each of the categories. For example, people in the category marked "less than secondary" are credited with having completed eight years of schooling.

The average amount of father's education is lowest for the three groups of African teachers, ranging from 3.7 years for the African teachers to 5.0 for those in training at Kyambogo. The upward trend in mean education of father shown by these three groups directly parallels a decline in the average teacher age across the three groups. While the sample from Kyambogo has the youngest members, and generally the youngest parents, the African teachers are older and have parents who were of school age when schooling was not as available as it was to the parents of current Kyambogo students. (Table 6.2 indicates a difference of ten years between the average age of the Kyambogo group and the African group of teachers.) The rapid rate of expansion of education in the country is clearly reflected in the change of the educational level of the fathers over a ten year period. Relative to the rest of the population, however, the teachers come from families where the father has a high level of education. Their economic status and probably their social status is therefore high, and is comparable to the professional group at the top of the occupational scale in a Western society.

The Asians fall in the middle between the Africans and the expatriates. The interpretation of the 9.5 year average for the Asians is somewhat difficult since some of them have fathers who were educated abroad, either in England or in India, and some of them have parents who have spent their lives in East Africa. The economic status of the Asians in East Africa is, on the whole, good, but an assessment of their social status is complicated by racial and ethnic communities which set the Asians somewhat apart from the bulk of the Africans.

TABLE 6.4

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FATHER BY TEACHER GROUP

Group Years of School	Primary [2]	Finished Primary [6]	Less Than Secondary [8]	Finished Secondary [12]	Beyond Secondary [14]	First Degree [16]	Advanced Degree [18]	Average No. of Years
British Trained	2% (3)[a]	22% (26)	12% (14)	23%	21%	14%	6%	11.2 Years
British TEA/Vol	5% (2)	11% (4)	11% (4)	18% (7)	16% (6)	26% (10)	13% (5)	12.3 Years (38)
British Local	--	24% (5)	19% (4)	38% (8)	5% (1)	14% (3)	--	10.3 Years (21)
Peace Corps	--	8% (3)	5% (2)	25% (10)	5% (2)	40% (16)	17% (7)	13.7 Years (40)
Missionaries	13% (4)	32% (10)	3% (1)	23% (7)	16% (5)	3% (1)	10% (3)	9.6 Years (31)
Asians	18% (7)	18% (7)	12% (5)	27% (11)	5% (2)	15% (6)	5% (2)	9.6 Years (40)
Africans	73% (44)	13% (8)	7% (4)	2% (1)	2% (1)	3% (2)	--	3.7 Years (60)
Makerere	65% (13)	15% (3)	15% (3)	--	--	5% (1)	--	4.45 Years (20)
Kyambogo	48% (32)	25% (17)	21% (14)	--	6% (4)	--	--	5.0 Years (67)
Others	10% (4)	23% (9)	15% (6)	23% (9)	8% (3)	13% (5)	8% (3)	10.0 Years (39)
TOTALS	23% (109)	19% (92)	12% (57)	17% (81)	10% (49)	13% (61)	6% (27)	8.8 Years (476)

[a] The number of teachers in the group.

In terms of the level of father's education, the Missionaries and the British wives on local terms are slightly above the Asians. For the missionaries, this in part reflects their average age of over 40 and the consequent implications about the education available to their fathers fifty years ago in Western countries. The figure for the wives is about one year less than the figure for the trained British teachers.

The differences between the local wives group and the trained group are not large enough to suggest significant differences in home background. The occupational ratings,[7] for instance, show that 25% of the trained teachers and 20% of the local wives have fathers in the professional- or managerial-executive class. The percentage of both groups in the manual classifications (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) is the same -- about 30%. In both cases the majority are from middle class homes and can be expected to bring with them the values and attitudes prevalent in that setting.

The average number of years of father's education is highest in the two groups of volunteers. Their position relative to the other groups is probably due in large part to the increase in educational opportunities over time. In the case of the British volunteer, however, it may also reflect the recruitment of a somewhat atypical type of person. Going out to teach in the colonies in the days before independence may well have had status connotations other than those associated with the volunteer aspect of teaching in a new, independent country today.

In both the American and the British group just under 50% of the group come from families where the father is in the professional or managerial-executive classification. Nearly 60% of the Peace Corps fathers have a university degree, while about 40% of the British volunteer group come from homes where the father has a degree. The higher average for the Peace Corps is, in part, a result of the difference in educational structures in the two countries; the difference would be somewhat less if the definitions of a degree were adjusted to make them more equivalent. On the average, the Peace Corps volunteer may come from a slightly higher socioeconomic stratum, but of more importance is the fact that both volunteer groups seem to rank noticeably higher than the other groups from Western countries.

Another dimension of importance to a country like Uganda is the extent to which the teachers have had contact with a rural, farming type of environment. Teachers were asked the size of the town they grew up in and whether they had ever lived or worked on a farm. The answers to the first question show,[8] as one would expect, that the expatriates are from a much more urban background than the African teachers. On the average, only 15 to 20 percent of the expatriates said that they had grown up on a farm or in a small village, whereas more than 60% of the Africans came from such an area. The Asian teachers are almost all from an urban background with less than 5% indicating a rural home environment.

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[7] See Table B.2 in Appendix B.

[8] See Table B.3 in Appendix B.

The number of expatriate teachers who come from small towns (5 to 20 thousand people) ranges from 20% to 30%. The remaining 50% to 60% of the expatriates come from large towns or cities. The result is that the experience which the expatriate teachers bring with them is largely of an urban type. Their ability to understand the situation from which the average African pupil comes is thus necessarily limited by their lack of experience with rural conditions.

The results of the question on direct farming experience are about the same, with a somewhat higher percentage of the expatriates indicating some farming experience. As Table 6.5 demonstrates, most of this experience is of a short term nature, typically of one or two summers duration. The Peace Corps, Missionaries, and Asians are somewhat higher in average experience than the three British groups. The Africans are, of course, the highest, but there seems to be a significant percentage who report no or almost no farming experience. Whether this is due to some confusion over the interpretation of the meaning of farming, or whether it reflects a real lack of experience with the growing of crops, is uncertain.[9] It does have significance to the extent that the replies indicate a lack of identification with the rural areas and a feeling that they themselves have no background which relates to the farming activities of the people in Uganda.

Finally, one other background variable will be discussed in this section: the religious background of the teachers and their own report on the extent of their religious activity. Because many of the schools were founded by religious bodies, and because religion continues to be an important part of the school atmosphere, the religious background of the teacher and their attitudes toward religion are of importance.[10] The

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[9] The actual text of the question was: "Have you ever lived on a farm (shamba) or ranch? If Yes, please indicate for about how long." The word 'shamba' refers to the land used for subsistence cultivation. It can include cash crops, but most frequently the shamba contains food grown for consumption.

[10] F. B. Nelson presents a perceptive discussion of the interaction between American TEA teachers in East Africa and the religious environments found in the secondary schools. She indicates considerable conflict between the Americans' behavior and the role expectations of headmasters and other staff. "Religion and Teachers," Proceedings of the East Africa

TABLE 6.5

AMOUNT OF FARMING EXPERIENCE BY TEACHER GROUP

Group Years of Exp.	None [0]	1 Year or Less [.5]	1 to 5 Years [3]	Over 5 Years [8]	Average No. of Years[b]
British Trained	57%	30%	7%	6%	0.9 years
	(75)	(39)	(10)	(8)	(132)
British TEA/Vol	57%	29%	11%	3%	0.7 years
	(21)	(11)	(4)	(1)	(37)
British Local	78%	18%	--	4%	0.4 years
	(18)	(4)		(1)	(23)
Peace Corps	60%	15%	15%	10%	1.3 years
	(24)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(40)
Missionaries	66%	12%	6%	16%	1.5 years
	(21)	(4)	(2)	(5)	(32)
Asians	74%	4%	12%	10%	1.2 years
	(36)	(2)	(6)	(5)	(49)
Africans	32%	19%	8%	41%	3.7 years
	(19)	(11)	(5)	(25)	(60)
Makerere	35%	35%	9%	21%	2.1 years
	(8)	(8)	(2)	(5)	(23)
Kyambogo	36%	28%	5%	31%	2.7 years
	(28)	(22)	(4)	(24)	(78)
Others	44%	23%	15%	18%	2.0 years
	(17)	(9)	(6)	(7)	(39)
TOTALS	52%	23%	9%	16%	1.7 years
	(267)	(116)	(45)	(85)	(513)

[a] Number of teachers in the group.

[b] The averages reported in the last column are approximate measures of the amount of experience of that group. They are computed by multiplying the number in the group in a particular category by the number in square brackets under the column titles. These numbers are intended to provide a rough measure of the average length of experience of the people in each category.

teacher is expected to serve as a model for the moral character training of the pupils; an important part of this model is the external manifestation of religious behavior. There is strong parental and community support for this part of the teacher's role; hence, teachers' religious characteristics become salient for community relations and sometimes have political implications.

The over-all pattern which emerges shows that the expatriates are distinguished by a somewhat lower proportion of Catholics and a higher percentage of non-believers in contrast with the three African groups. The African groups have about 40% Catholics and about 50% Protestants and only insignificant numbers who list themselves as non-believers. The Missionaries and the Asians are different from the other groups; the Missionaries are predominantly Catholic while the Asians are split between the category of 'other faiths' (which in their case usually means some form of Hinduism), and Muslims, the majority of whom are followers of the Aga Khan.

An interesting aspect of the information presented by Table 6.6 is the difference between the proportions of Catholic and Protestant teachers and the proportions of the total population who are listed as members of those religions in the last population census in Uganda. The 1959 census reports that the population is composed of 34.5% Catholics, 28.2% Protestants, and 5.6% Muslims.[11] The remainder of the population is listed as 'others' and includes a large proportion of believers in various indigenous religious practices. In contrast to these proportions, half the teachers are Protestant, and only 25% are Catholics. If one looks only at the non-missionary expatriates, the lack of fit is even greater: nearly 60% Protestant, about 15% Catholic, and about 25% in the non-believer category. Although patterns of distributions of the teachers can be used to somewhat offset the imbalance, there are clearly some difficulties in meeting parent's demands that the schools educate the children in the faith of the parents.

A second question was asked of those who indicated membership in a particular religion in order to determine whether the individual considered himself an active or an inactive member of his religion. For the three groups of British teachers, nearly 60% indicate that they are active members of their religion, while for the Peace Corps less than 30% indicate active status. In contrast, the Asians and the three African groups are much more active with 80% of the Asians and 60% of

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University Social Science Conference, January, 1963 (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1963). (Mimeographed.)

[11] Uganda Census, 1959: African Population (Uganda Government: Statistics Branch, Ministry of Economic Affairs, 1959), p. 31.

TABLE 6.6

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Muslims	Catholic	Protestant	Other Faiths	Non-Believers	Active[b]
British Trained	--	13% (17)[a]	59% (78)	2% (2)	26% (35)	59% (54)
British TEA/Vol	--	13% (5)	58% (22)	--	29% (11)	56% (15)
British Local	--	13% (3)	74% (17)	--	13% (3)	60% (12)
Peace Corps	--	5% (2)	63% (25)	2% (1)	30% (12)	29% (8)
Missionaries	--	84% (27)	16% (5)	--	--	97% (31)
Asians	20% (10)	8% (4)	12% (6)	60% (29)	--	81% (38)
African	--	44% (28)	53% (33)	--	3% (2)	71% (40)
Makerere	8% (2)	38% (9)	50% (12)	--	4% (1)	67% (14)
Kyambogo	8% (6)	44% (35)	44% (35)	2% (2)	2% (2)	60% (44)
Others	--	19% (7)	57% (21)	5% (2)	19% (7)	50% (15)
TOTALS	4% (18)	26% (137)	49% (254)	7% (36)	14% (73)	64% (271)

[a] Number of teachers in the group.

[b] The percentage for this column was calculated on a base which did not include non-believers.

the group at Kyambogo stating they are active. In addition, 14% of the teachers in the over-all sample are non-believers and 36% of these who classify themselves as believers (31% of the total sample), consider themselves inactive. The remaining 64% who belong to a religion (55% of the total sample) consider themselves active members of a religion and are presumably willing to take direct responsibility for the promotion of religious activities in the schools.

This chapter has presented the rationale and definitions used to define the groups of teachers which will be used as the major independent variables in the analysis which follows. The groups have been described in terms of important background variables -- namely, sex, age, years of teaching experience in Uganda, educational level of father, exposure to rural environments in their own lives, and their religious affiliation and degree of activity. A number of these variables were seen to differ greatly in the different groups and will be important factors to keep in mind when evaluating group differences on dependent measures. Age, in particular, seems to be related both to the groups and to other independent variables, such as educational level of the father.

The description of the groups is intended to give the reader a feeling for the various groups in order that he may begin to understand the complexity of the teaching situation in Uganda. In the sections which follow, controls for the effects of other independent variables, such as age, will be systematically investigated in order to see whether they account for a significant part of the variance among groups.

CHAPTER VII

THE TEACHER AND THE GOVERNMENT

Of the many problems facing a newly developing country like Uganda, probably the most crucial ones have to do with the existence and stability of the country. Almond and Powell describe four dimensions of challenge which developing political systems have to face at some point in their growth. They call these dimensions state building, nation building, participation, and distribution.[1] Western nations have generally moved successively through these dimensions, dealing with the challenges sequentially. In contrast, the new nations today face the same kinds of problems within a highly compressed time scale; they must deal with all of these challenges more or less simultaneously. Uganda is no exception, having faced crises of varying severity in all of these dimensions in the five years since independence.

Two of the four dimensions, state building and nation building, are particularly important in that they are prerequisites for the successful resolution of the challenges produced by the other two dimensions. State building refers to the structural expansion which occurs when there is the need to penetrate and control the society in order to regulate behavior and to draw a larger volume of resources from the society. In Uganda this process has taken the form of increasing the control of the central government over the regions and of setting up numerous government officials in all sections of the country. The organizational network of the government has spread out in order to better control both increased inputs, such as taxes and labor, and to provide more outputs like education and health services.

Nation building refers to the problem of developing loyalty and commitment to these new structures of political control. As indicated earlier, Uganda is an extremely diversified country in terms of ethnic and religious communities. Consequently, it faces the difficult task of gradually inducing people to transfer their loyalties from family, clan, tribal, and religious groups to the nation. On a number of occasions since independence these diverse loyalties have threatened the existence of the political system in Uganda. Its continued existence depends largely on its success in meeting the challenges posed by the problems of state and nation building.

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[1] G. A. Almond and G. B. Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 35.

To successfully resolve these challenges, the state must create a reservoir of support and commitment on the part of individual citizens. Because of the relative lack of penetration and structure that exists in a country like Uganda, the burden of building support and commitment falls heavily on the few agencies which do exist. Thus, the schools and the teachers take on even greater responsibilities than they would in other societies which have a range of additional agencies available. The entire system is new. Not only must new members of the society be brought to positions of support and loyalty for the system, but all the older citizens must also be taught new attitudes and feelings. The schools undertake responsibility for the children in this process and cannot rely on family or community to provide the degree of reinforcement common in other societies. Not infrequently the teachings of the school may be in conflict with the earlier socialization provided by the pupil's family and community.

The extent to which the school is potentially able to carry out the socialization of the pupils depends on the existence in the schools of the attitudes and information required for the process. To create feelings of loyalty and commitment, to teach an understanding of the system and its goals, and to generate feelings of diffuse support for the government in pupils requires a source within the school which possesses these attitudes to start with. The teachers are, of course, the obvious source, but the extent to which they possess the desired knowledge and attitudes is less certain. To the extent that they do, there is the reasonable possibility that they will be able to transmit them to the pupils. If the teachers do not possess the kinds of attitudes and knowledge needed for the nation to face these challenges, then there is cause for concern about the sources of such information available to pupils.

In the remainder of this chapter, three scales designed to tap aspects of the problem of state and nation building will be discussed. The first scale provides an indication of the teacher's image of the Uganda government and its capabilities; the second measures the extent to which the teacher feels he should discuss his perception and knowledge of the government with the pupils; the third reflects the tendency of the teacher to discuss national affairs. Together with a number of supporting questions asked in the instrument, these scales should provide some understanding of the teachers' views of the political system and their involvement in the type of activities which have the potential of transmitting such views to the pupils.

Image of the Government

The first scale contains the seven items which had loadings greater than .30 on Factor III of the factor analysis. Inspection of the items reveals that three different aspects of the teachers' perception of the government seem to be involved in the content of the questions.[2] Three of the seven questions concern a hypothetical situation in which the teacher disagrees with some ruling on an educational issue made by the Ministry of Education. The first item of this group probes what Almond and Verba call 'output affect,' i.e., feelings toward a government agency involved in the output of goods or services.[3] The question asks how the teachers think an official of the Ministry of Education would react if they were to express their concern over some educational issue to him. The answers available ranged from "would give your point of view serious consideration," to "would ignore what you had to say." The assumption is that teachers with a generally favorable view of the Ministry would expect reasonable consideration of their opinion.

The second and third items also provide an indication of the teachers' underlying feelings toward the Ministry. One question asks what the teacher thinks the chances are that his expression of concern would have any influence on the Ministry, and the other inquires as to how likely it is that the teacher would actually try to do something about an educational issue which concerned him. Both of these questions are intended to serve as indicators of the subject's sense of competence when confronted with an action of the government which is disagreeable to him. The belief of an individual that he can influence the action of a government, and the propensity to actually try to exert that influence, is called civic competence or political efficacy in the literature of political science.[4] Teachers with a high sense of political efficacy would presumably be valuable because they would be able to serve as models in transmitting similar beliefs to the pupils.

The second group of items in the first scale also relates to output, but contains an evaluational aspect as well as a measure of affective perception. Teachers were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with the statement, "The government is making good progress in the provision of educational and health services in Uganda." A second question asked them to indicate their belief about the fate of people who break laws in Uganda by choosing an answer from among statements that such people "always" or "usually get caught," or "usually" or "almost always get away." Both these statements give teachers a chance to express their feelings about the success of the government in providing desired kinds of output. The responses also provide an indirect measure of the generalized support of the teacher for the government. Teachers who are supportive will tend to be less harsh in their application of criteria to judge the effectiveness of the government and will be more likely to cite mitigating circumstances when instances of failure are brought to their attention. In contrast, teachers with a more negative approach to the government will tend to judge by more absolute standards. In the case of the expatriate, he would tend to judge the performance of the government by the ideal levels of service which he ascribes to his own nation, often neglecting the frequent lapses which occur at home.

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[2] The complete text of the items in this and the other scales can be found in Appendix C.2. Mean scores for the teacher groups on each item are presented also.

[3] G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1965. Originally published by Princeton University Press in 1963), pp. 68ff.

[4] Almond and Verba use the term civic competence in The Civic Culture, op. cit., p. 136 ff. The term political efficacy has been applied by D. Easton and J. Dennis to the scale which they used on American children and is reported in their article "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms: Political Efficacy," American Political Science Review, LXI, No. 1 (March, 1967), pp. 25-38.

The third aspect of the first scale contains two items whose content is less obviously related to the respondent's feelings toward the government. The two questions involve the radio listening habits of the teachers: One asks how frequently the respondent listens to programs which provide information about Uganda or East Africa, and the other asks specifically how likely they are to listen to Radio Uganda. Listening to sources of information about the environment, and in particular choosing to listen to Radio Uganda in comparison to more sophisticated stations like the B.B.C., indicate a form of support for the government of Uganda. Almond and Powell discuss supporting behavior as a form of system input and suggest that one form of such support is "attention paid to governmental communication, ..."[5]

Having a teaching force which is generally willing to listen to the national radio not only indicates a level of diffuse support for the government, but also represents a potential source of greater system mobilization. At present, the content of the radio programs is not particularly focused on promoting national goals, although it does provide the most direct source of information about government policy and activities available to the teachers. If the government chose to make more conscious use of the radio as an instrument of national development, the communication network seems to be fairly well established and could provide a link between the government and an important group of opinion-moulding elites.[6]

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[5] Almond and Powell, op. cit., p. 26.

[6] Approximately 20% of the total number of respondents indicated that they did not own a radio. The percentage among teachers in the

All of the items in this factor seem to relate to an underlying dimension concerning the affective aspects of the respondents view of the government. While the overt content of the items deals with several different kinds of government functions and includes indicators of the subject's sense of competence in dealing with the government, they all reflect the subject's over-all positive or negative orientation toward the national government.[7] Scores on this scale should serve as indicators of the extent and distribution of a reservoir of good will toward the political system in Uganda among the various kinds of secondary school teachers in the country.

The mean scores on the Image of Government scale (Scale 1) of the teaching groups described in Chapter VI are set out in Table 7.1. Because the scale scores are calculated from weighted sums of standardized scores, their values can be negative as well as positive. Scores on this scale range from about -2.0 to +2.0 and have an average value of zero for the entire sample. The interpretation of scale scores should be based only on the assumption of increasing positiveness of the image of government as the values increase from large negative values, to zero, to large positive values. The value of zero has no intrinsic significance and cannot be thought of, in any absolute sense, as dividing negative images from positive images. Zero merely represents the mean value of the total collection of orientations toward the government as they range from less to more positive.

The groups are ranked according to the size of their mean scores. Kyambogo is ranked first because it has the highest mean, and hence the most positive image of the government. The least positive image is held by the British Local group and they are therefore ranked ninth. The results of the one way analysis of variance indicate that the null hypothesis of equal means can be rejected at better than the .001 level. To

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school is probably even less since nearly 100 of the respondents were still in training colleges and would be less likely to own a radio than teachers would.

[7] The original design of the instrument included a more detailed set of items which would have allowed separate measures to be constructed for such things as political efficacy, feelings about output, feelings about input, etc. Because of the uncertain political situation in the country, however, the approval of the government was conditional on the removal of sixteen questions from the section dealing with the teachers' perceptions of the government. The decision to interpret the questions which remained as a group is based on their loading on a single factor in the factor analysis, indicating that they vary together and thus share a common source of variance. The interpretation of the scale as an indicator of affective orientation toward the government reflects the author's judgment about the source of the common variance.

TABLE 7.1

SCALE 1

TEACHERS' AFFECTIVE IMAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.38	.54	112	8
British TEA/Vol	-.30	.63	33	7
British Local	-.44	.60	21	9
Peace Corps	-.23	.56	36	6
Missionaries	-.17	.57	31	5
Asians	+.21	.54	44	4
Africans	+.43	.67	60	2
Makerere	+.24	.49	23	3
Kyambogo	+.46	.59	77	1

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
6.43	0.34	18.95	.001

Critical Differences (Newman-Keuls)[a] by size of rank differences (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .264 C.D. (5) = .372 C.D. (9) = .468

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[a] To test the significance of the difference between any pair of means in the table a critical (minimum significant) difference is calculated by the method of Newman-Keuls as described by Winer. See B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experimental Design (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), p. 101-104. The size of the critical difference depends on the number of people in each group, the distance in rank between the two groups, and the level of significance chosen. To arrive at some critical differences that will be approximately valid across all groups, the value of 'n' used for the calculations is the harmonic mean of the 'n' values for all the groups. (The value including the large group is 40, and excluding the one large group is 37; the value of 40 was used in the calculations.) A significance level of .05 was used and the value of the studentized range statistic for 40 degrees of freedom was used, even though the number of degrees of freedom is closer to 400. (It was decided that a conservative significance test was desirable.) Three of the nine values for the critical difference are given in the table. They cover the range from adjacent means to means at the extremes of the ranking. For rough estimates of the others use the one given for a difference of five ranks.

test differences between the mean values of any two groups one must apply the appropriate critical difference (see Table 7.1, footnote a). The values of Critical Differences given at the bottom of the table are approximate and will allow the reader to make estimates of the interval size needed for a significant difference between any pair of means.

As an example, consider any pair of means whose rankings are adjacent, say those of the Asians and the Missionaries. The difference between their means is .38 and this is significant at the .05 level since it is greater than the critical difference (C.D. (2) = .26) required for adjacently ranked groups. For groups which are four to seven ranks apart a rough measure of the critical difference is given by the value for groups differing in rank by five. To test the significance of the difference between the British Trained teachers and the Africans (.81) it is compared with a critical difference for a difference in rank of seven (8 - 2 + 1 = 7). Since this difference is not given, it can only be approximated by taking a value halfway between the value for a rank difference of five (.37) and the value for a rank difference of nine (.47), i.e., about .42. However, in this case the difference is bigger than the difference for a rank interval of nine, and hence it is clearly significant without further testing.

The pattern of results in Table 7.1 shows a very clear dichotomy between two sets of groups. The set with the lowest scores contains all the expatriates, while the set with the highest scores contains all the local teachers and all the Africans who are training to become teachers. Any pair of differences between the two sets of groups is significant and no pair of differences within either set of groups reaches significance. The implications for system support among teachers would seem to be strikingly clear and not unexpected in terms of the groups' nationalities.

With only a handful of exceptions[8] the expatriates are non-citizens in a society where discussion of citizenship as an indicator of support for the nation receives considerable publicity. Although most of the discussion centers around the Asians, the general atmosphere will have made the expatriates more consciously aware of their special status and consequently less likely to exercise a number of the supportive behaviors which they would engage in at home. One would predict that the questions relating specifically to the sense of political efficacy would reflect this sense of low identification with the system.

The question on influencing the ministry and the one on the likelihood of trying to influence the Ministry both show the same pattern of grouping as that in Table 7.1. The expatriates are least likely to feel that they can influence the Ministry and least likely to try, while the three African groups are the highest on both of these questions. Several expatriates stated explicitly that as expatriates they had no right to question policies of the Ministry, while others indicated that their own experience was limited and hence not a suitable basis for expressing an opinion to the ministry. (Group means for each item we presented in Appendix C.2.)

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[8] In the entire sample there were four Europeans who had taken out Ugandan citizenship.

It should be noted that although these two questions do support the hypothesis that the expatriates have a lesser sense of political efficacy, the pattern of the groups in these two questions is essentially the same as the pattern in the other five questions in the scale. In all the questions, the Expatriates fall below the Africans. The only exceptions occur with the Asians and the Missionaries. Their position tends to be in the middle between the expatriates and the Africans, but it fluctuates by much larger amounts than do the positions of any of the other groups of teachers. The missionaries are at the bottom of the expatriate groups on radio listening, but at the top of the expatriates on expectations of treatment by the Ministry and chances of influencing it. They are also high, relative to the other expatriates, on their evaluation of the performance of the government in providing output services.

The relatively favorable impressions of the government reported by the missionaries may be inflated by their uncertainty about their future in the country and fear of the consequences of saying anything negative about the government. A number of missionaries were deported in the first part of 1968 and on several occasions public officials have expressed displeasure with activities of the church. These kinds of concerns do not seem to have affected the responses of the other expatriates, although they are equally vulnerable to threats of deportation. On the other hand, most of the expatriates do not expect to stay in Uganda for a long period and have much less emotional commitment to their life in the country than the missionaries do.

The fluctuation of the Asian group is likewise understandable in terms of their uncertain future in the country. Although many of them are long term residents of the country only a third have Ugandan citizenship. Another third hold British passports and the remainder are citizens of India. A realistic appraisal of their situation in the country leads them to be extremely cautious in expressing opinions on matters having to do with the government.[9] Thus, while they fall in the middle on frequency of radio listening and on all three of the questions having to do with the Ministry of Education, they have the most favorable mean responses of all nine groups on both questions dealing with the government's success in providing output services.[10]

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[9] For a journalistic description of recent Asian difficulties in Kenya and Uganda see: P. Theroux, "Hating the Asians," Transition, VII, No. 33 (1967), pp. 46-51.

The Asians' position on the political efficacy questions is higher than the position of the average expatriate on the same questions. The explanation of this apparent anomaly, in view of the insecurity of the Asians' future, could take two forms. It may well be a manifestation of the same cautiousness discussed above, or it may be a carry-over from the colonial period when the Asians did have considerable influence with the government -- in part because of the great number of Asians holding lower and middle level posts in the bureaucracy. The author inclines toward the first explanation at this point because of the prominence given to incidents and policies clearly directed against the Asian population.

Although the differences between the various subgroups within the expatriates are not statistically significant, it is suggestive since similar patterns are repeated on other scales which will be discussed later. The low position of the British Local group, composed almost exclusively of wives on local terms, reflects the fact that they are rated either eighth or ninth on five of the seven questions contained in the Image of Government Scale. Other research has found that women generally have lower ratings on political efficacy scales and are often more alienated from the political system than men.[11] The British Local group reflects these trends by scoring the lowest of all groups on the three questions dealing with interaction with the Ministry of Education.

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[10] The cynicism of this interpretation should not obscure the very real possibility that there are subgroups within the Asians which have a genuine belief in the government of Uganda and are committed to supporting it. One might, for instance, find such people among the younger members of the Aga Khan community. An Asian social scientist in East Africa supported this belief in a recent article. He stated that "... the younger generation of Asians, born and bred in East Africa, have no other home and know no other loyalties." Y. P. Ghai, "Prospects for Asians in East Africa," in Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa, East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1966), p. 25.

[11] For results on political efficacy of a random sample of American women see: A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960), p. 491. Zeigler discusses women teachers in Oregon in terms of their alienation from the political system. H. Zeigler, The Political World of the High School Teacher (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon Press, 1966), pp. 27-30.

The relationships between the remaining groups are less easy to categorize at this point. Separating out the British Volunteers and Teachers for East Africa participants was the result of the hypothesis that this group might differ significantly from the group containing people who had already decided on a teaching career before choosing to come to East Africa. It was hypothesized that the British Volunteer group would show greater similarity to the American Peace Corps volunteers on many issues than to the group of trained British teachers. The results on the Image of Government Scale shown in Table 7.1 support this hypothesis.

The only noticeable deviation from the general pattern of responses on the seven questions in this scale occurs on the question about the government's progress in providing health and educational facilities. The Peace Corps group ranks ninth on this question with a distinct gap between them and the three British groups which rank immediately above them. This may reflect the idealism of the volunteers in setting higher goals, perhaps based on the levels of service they are used to, and may also reflect their unfamiliarity with the structures which provide these services. The system is essentially British in origin and style, and many Americans react negatively to it when they first arrive.

Awareness of National Affairs

Having seen how various kinds of teachers rank on an evaluative and affective measure of orientation toward the government, one must now ask about their cognitive orientations. To be an effective agent of socialization a teacher must presumably have more than just loyalty and commitment; he must also have some knowledge of the system, its structures, and the leaders who make its policy. Pupils would quickly perceive the ignorance of the teacher about salient aspects of the government and would be less likely to view him as a reliable source of information on such topics. In Uganda, where a substantial proportion of the teachers are expatriates on short term contracts, the problem might be particularly serious.

To be an effective participant in the political process an individual must have both a knowledge of the system and a motivation which impels him to make use of this knowledge. People with negative orientations toward the government would have little incentive to seek out or use information about the government. In view of the relatively less positive orientation of the expatriates revealed in the last section, one would expect similar patterns to occur on a measure of the teachers' awareness of the government.

To measure the extent of the teachers' awareness, a scale was constructed based on the items which loaded heavily on Factor XII. As before, the content of these items seems to touch on a number of related issues, but possesses an underlying theme. The five items consist of: two which measure direct knowledge of the national environment, two which measure the frequency and range of written sources of national information used by the teacher, and one item which reflects the amount of contact the teacher has with Africans. Except for the last item, the questions in this scale are very similar to ones used by Almond and Verba to tap respondents' political cognitions.[12]

The information questions relate to two different aspects of the national environment, one political and the other social. The political question asked people to name Ministries in the central government and their incumbent Ministers. Answers were scored on a cumulative scale with credit being given for both correct names and correct titles of Ministries. A maximum score of eight was allowed. Knowledge of the ministers is not as obscure an indicator as it might seem at first. There are about 20 Ministries and the Ministers in about ten of them form the visible ruling elite in the country. Their names and activities are constantly reported in the press, and their actions are seen by the general populace as instrumental in controlling what happens in the country. The author felt that such knowledge would represent a minimum starting point for someone who expected to participate in the political process in Uganda.

The second question is more relevant perhaps to the expatriates in that it is intended to be a crude measure of their awareness of the basic dimensions of the nation. Teachers were asked to estimate the population of Uganda and were scored on a four point scale indicating how realistic their answers were. The intent was not to get a precise answer from the teachers (there is a good deal of uncertainty about the actual figure since the last census was nine years ago), but to see whether their conceptions were at least of the right order of magnitude. The answers of the African teachers serve as a base line, indicating the general level of awareness about the size of the population. Again, such information is expected only to represent an absolute minimum level of awareness for someone who is going to function as a source of information.

A different aspect of political cognition involves the use of communications media as a source of information about the nation. The two questions in the scale dealing with communications both relate to the printed word. One is a rating on the frequency of reading the two major newspapers which have a national circulation and which carry the most news about Uganda.[13] The other is an over-all rating on use of printed sources of information based on the first question and on a second one dealing with less specifically Ugandan sources of news. The latter question included news sources common to all of East Africa which tend to deal with a wider range of topics than the local papers. It also included the Reporter, which is a biweekly news interpretation magazine. All of these publications are available throughout Uganda, although in the more remote areas a certain amount of individual initiative might be required to get them. In these areas the daily papers would be a day or more late in arriving. Thus, there is probably a slight biasing effect in favor of the more accessible areas of the country, but with the exception of the Asians, the grouping of the teachers is not related to their location and hence no interaction effects would be expected.

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[12] Almond and Verba, op. cit., pp. 53-62.

An interesting result of the factor analysis was the separation of the communications media into two different factors: the radio being in one, and the papers and magazines being in another. Normally, one would expect them to be combined together without further thought.[14] However, upon reflection about the content available in the two media in a country like Uganda, the separation is less surprising. The radio presents a great deal of its news and other material in the vernaculars which are unintelligible to the majority of the teachers, and the part which is in English tends to be sketchy.[15] In fact, for native English speakers, the presentation of news and other information programs on the radio is occasionally something of an exercise in tolerance because of difficulties in editing or reading the news. Listening to the radio thus becomes in part a form of support, expressed as a willingness to listen to communications about the government in spite of their format.

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[13] The two papers are the Uganda Argus, a daily published by an independent firm, and the People, published weekly and purported to be a mouthpiece for government policy inasmuch as it is financed partly by the Milton Obote Foundation. In fact, the People follows an independent editorial policy which can be much more critical of the government than the fairly timid approach taken by the Argus.

[14] For example, Almond and Verba treat them together in their analysis of political cognitions, op. cit., p. 56.

[15] An interesting aspect of the presentation of the news in the different languages came up during an interview with an African teacher. He said that the news in English was much better because it gave fuller details and because it covered topics of national concern which were the subject of current controversy. In contrast, the vernacular news bulletins were much simplified, and many of the more sensitive national issues were either omitted or greatly toned down. The informant said that the government followed this procedure because the relatively unsophisticated listeners to the vernacular news were unable to understand the full details of events and tended to interpret the news too simplistically -- with consequent negative effects on the stability of the country. The analytic problem posed by a nationally controlled, selective censorship of the news by language groups would certainly be an intriguing research topic for those interested in communications as a tool of national development.

In contrast, the newspapers present more complete reports which provide much of the information necessary for a basic understanding of the system. In addition, it should be remembered that the subjects of this study are highly educated and verbally trained people for whom reading is part of their occupation. With these factors in mind, the inclusion of radio listening in the scale measuring affective orientation toward the government, instead of with the newspapers in the scale on cognitive orientation, seems to make sense.

The final question in the scale is a more general indicator of the teachers' degree of contact with the environment. Specifically, the question asked how many Africans the teacher knew well enough to have some feeling for them as individuals. For the expatriates, this question gives an indication of the amount of contact they have with Ugandan nationals who would be able to make them aware of the African perspective on affairs of national interest. Surprisingly enough, it is quite possible for an expatriate to teach for two years in the country and never get to know any Africans other than their students. Hence, such an indicator is more relevant than one might at first suppose. As in the last question, the responses of the Africans serve to establish a base level against which the responses of other groups can be measured.[16]

The common thread joining the items in this scale is the teachers' awareness of national affairs as reflected in his knowledge of national leaders, his use of media which contain national news of all kinds, and his contact with citizens who could make the teacher aware of Africans' feelings about national affairs. As in the scale measuring the affective orientations of the teachers toward the government, one would expect to find that the cognitive orientations of the expatriates are less extensive than those of the African teachers.

The mean scores for each of the teacher groups on the Awareness of National Affairs scale (Scale 2) are presented in Table 7.2. The format and the interpretation of the table is the same as for the preceding scale. The ranking of the groups is almost identical with their ranking on affective orientations, except that the positions of the Peace

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[16] The inclusion of this question in the scale has the effect of accentuating the separation between the expatriates and the Africans. Since the pattern of responses to the question about knowing Africans is similar to the patterns in the other four questions, it does not alter their relative positions significantly.

TABLE 7.2

SCALE 2

TEACHERS' COGNITIVE ORIENTATION TOWARD GOVERNMENT BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.32	.76	128	6
British TEA/Vol	-.39	.76	38	7
British Local	-.50	.71	23	9
Peace Corps	-.45	.63	40	8
Missionaries	.00	.73	31	5
Asians	+.15	.55	49	4
Africans	+.44	.42	65	2
Makerere	+.35	.55	24	3
Kyambogo	+.56	.41	81	1

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
8.60	0.41	21.09	.001

Critical Differences[a] by size of rank differences (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .286   C.D. (5) = .408   C.D. (9) = .468

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[a] The procedure for using the critical differences in comparisons between pairs of means is described in the footnote to Table 7.1.

Corps and the Trained British teachers have been interchanged. A similar pattern of clusters is also found, with the expatriates grouped at the lower end of the scale and the Africans grouped at the higher end. The Missionaries and the Asians occupy a more distinctly middle position than before, not really lying within either of the groups at the ends of the scale. The close similarity of positions on these two scales is reflected by an over-all correlation coefficient between the two scales of 0.41. In other words, there is a noticeable tendency for teachers who are oriented favorably toward the government to acquire a more extensive cognitive map of the political system.

The ranking of the three African groups is the same as in Table 7.1, placing the large group of non-graduate trainees at Kyambogo first in rank. While one might expect the University students from Makerere to be at the top because of their more advanced education, the fact that about 30% of the Makerere group are from other African countries may be sufficient to lower their scores. Kenyans and Tanzanians would be less likely to keep informed about affairs in Uganda than Ugandan students, and would be less likely to identify as positively with the Ugandan government. The relatively higher ranking of Kyambogo over Makerere is not limited to just the information questions, but is true of the distributions for all of the questions which are included in the two scales. The difference is never large enough to reach statistical significance, but the persistence of the pattern over so many indicators tends to support the conclusion that the Kyambogo students are more positively oriented to the government on both the affective and the cognitive dimensions.

Indirect support can also be found in the writings of several research workers who are familiar with Makerere students. In his preliminary report on an extensive study of Makerere students, Barkan characterized the average student as a 'reluctant leader' who was more likely to act as a reliable and responsible follower than as a leader.[17] In contrast, the newness of Kyambogo as an institution may have permitted it to develop a less conservative tradition than Makerere which has a history dating back to the days of colonial rule. Kyambogo may also benefit from having a student body which is virtually all Ugandan in comparison to the multi-national student body at Makerere. Though small, the difference may have important implications for the secondary schools because of the large numbers of teachers being trained at Kyambogo.

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[17] J. D. Barkan, A Preliminary Report on the Recent Survey of Makerere Students. No date, p. 12 (mimeographed). Barkan's study was carried out in the fall of 1967. Parallel types of concerns are raised in an article by an American lecturer at Makerere. See K. Prewitt, "Makerere: Intelligence vs. Intellectuals," Transition, VI, No. 2 (April, 1966).

In comparison to the Africans, the level of cognitive awareness of the expatriates is quite low, particularly when one considers the simple kinds of information on which they were questioned. The results of the question asking for the names of the Ministries and their ministers indicate that, except for the missionaries, the average expatriate was able to name only two Ministers and their department titles. Considering the prominence given to the activities of the Ministers in the press and on the radio, one can interpret this only as a fairly low level of awareness of national political affairs. The high level of awareness of the missionaries in relation to the other expatriates follows a trend indicated by their position on the scale of affective orientation. Although their motivation may be related to their insecurity, the fact remains that they are more aware of specific details of the political system and report a greater frequency of reading newspapers and magazines containing such information.

The ranking of the expatriate groups is interestingly different on the two scales. Contrary to their positions on Scale 1, the Peace Corps and the British Volunteer groups have dropped below the British Trained group on Scale 2. On the surface this ranking contradicts one of the author's expectations. The Peace Corps and the British Volunteer group are the only expatriates who have any form of orientation course before they take up their teaching jobs. One would expect the orientation to produce a greater awareness of the kinds of information asked for in this scale. In attempting to resolve this difference two factors came to light: one, nearly half of the Peace Corps volunteers teaching in Uganda were originally trained for another African country before being switched to Uganda at the last moment; and two, further study revealed a fairly strong relationship between the length of time spent in the country and the teachers' score on the awareness scale.

In order to study the relationship between awareness of national affairs and length of time spent teaching in the country, regression equations were computed for each group of teachers and a graph of these equations was drawn. In Figure 7.1 the horizontal axis represents the amount of time spent teaching in Uganda and the vertical axis represents the score on the awareness scale. While care must be exercised in interpreting the graph,[18] it does show clearly that for the expatriates the amount of awareness increases directly as the amount of time spent in the

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[18] The validity of regression lines is limited to the range of variance of the data on which it is based. Thus, if the data on the Peace Corps are derived from a group which has less than three years of experience in the country, the equation cannot be used to predict behavior of volunteers after four years. The length of the lines in Figure 7.1 are adjusted to indicate the approximate range of the data on which they are based.

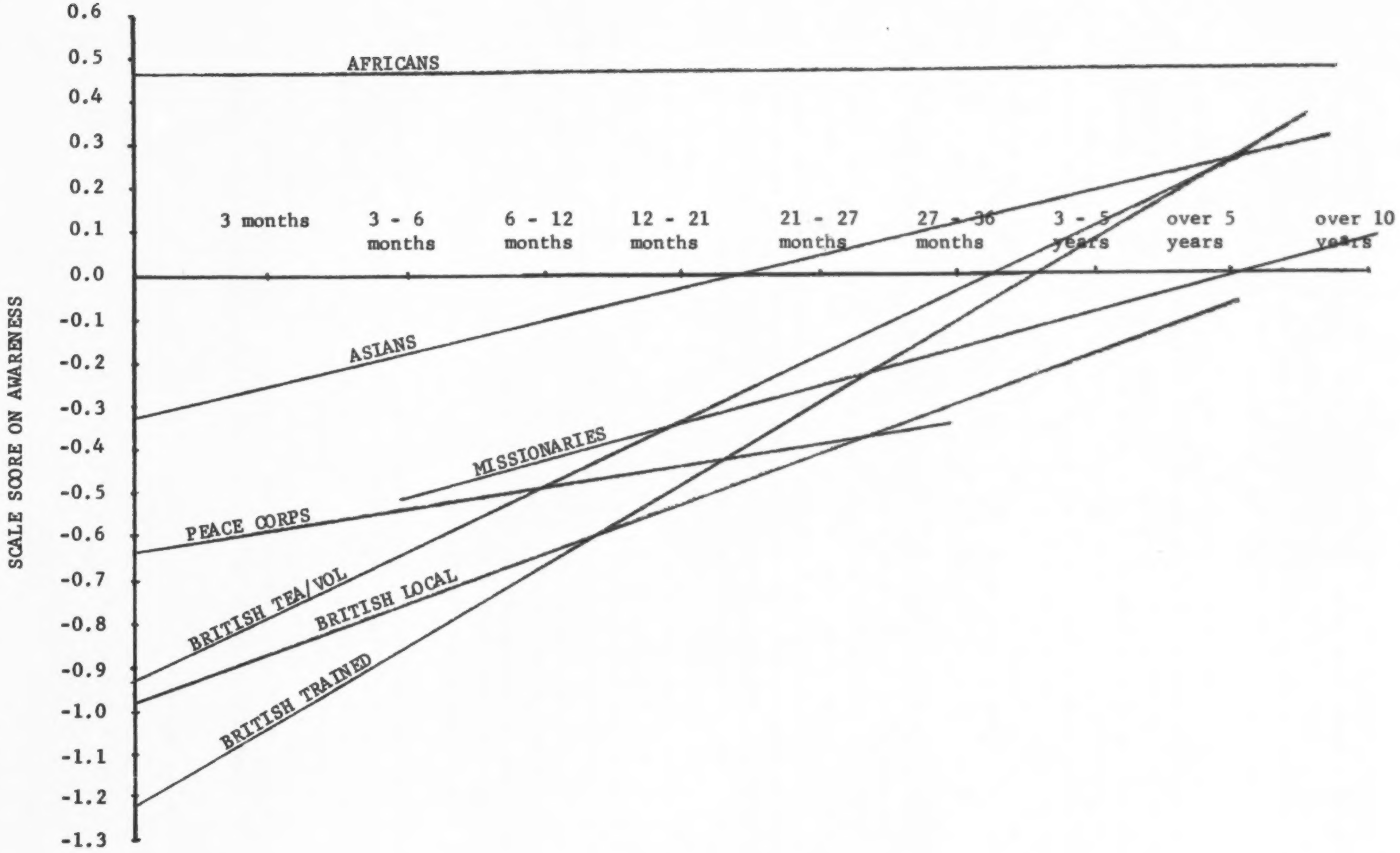

FIGURE 7.1 AWARENESS OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS BY TIME TEACHING IN UGANDA BY TEACHER GROUP

country. Roughly speaking, one can say that within the interval for which there are data the rate of increase in awareness is proportional to the slope of the line. The point at which the lines intersect the vertical axis provides a rough estimate of the level of awareness at which a particular group starts its teaching experience in Uganda.

The graph shows that controlling for the length of time spent teaching in Uganda explains the apparent anomaly of the volunteer groups in comparison to the British trained teachers. Both the Peace Corps and the British Volunteers start at a distinctly higher level of awareness than the Trained British, as indicated by the y-intercepts of the lines. It is only after nearly two years of residence that the three groups approach each other in awareness. The apparently lower rate of learning of the Peace Corps teachers may be due to the fact that none of them stay more than three years, with the result that there are no indications of how they would rate after three years.

Although the Missionaries have the longest average teaching experience the level of their knowledge does not rise much in their later years of service. While the British Trained teachers' initial knowledge is considerably lower than that of the Missionaries, their knowledge increases at a faster rate; up to three years of experience Missionaries appear to have more knowledge, but beyond three years the regression line indicates that the British Trained teachers have greater awareness. The Asian and African groups are included as reference levels against which the others can be measured. For the Africans there is no change with teaching service; they are citizens and their level of awareness is high initially and remains so relative to the other kinds of teachers. The Asians are high, but lower than the Africans, and do show some apparent gains in awareness as their length of service increases. Since most of them are long-time residents, even before they begin teaching, it may be that their average level of awareness is raised as a result of the activities, such as community leadership roles, which are associated with teaching. On the other hand, it may just be a general maturational process in the total Asian community.

A different aspect of awareness was probed by a question which asked the teachers to select what they thought were the government's highest priorities for the nation. A list of six possible goals were presented and teachers were asked to select the first and second most important of them.[19] The results, as shown in Table 7.3, are somewhat more encouraging than the measures of awareness might have led one to expect. The numbers in each column of the table represent the ranking

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[19] The six goals were constructed on the basis of the results produced by an open-ended question on the pretest.

TABLE 7.3

RANKING OF NATIONAL GOALS BY TEACHER GROUP

Goals	British Trained	British TEA/Vol	British Local	Peace Corps	Mission-aries	Asians	Africans	Makerere Students	Kyambogo Students	TOTAL
Mass literacy More primary ed.	3	4	3	3	4	2	4	5	2	3
Industrial Development	6	5	6	5	6	3	5	6	5	5
Agricultural Development	4	3	4	4	3	5	2	2	4	4
National Unity, Stability, Harmony	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
More High-level Manpower	5	6	5	6	5	6	6	3	6	6
Higher Standard of living	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	4	3	2

of the goals by the group labelled at the top of the column. The ranks were calculated by computing a weighted sum of the first and second choices within each group of teachers. The final column gives the rankings based on the same weighting procedure when applied to the entire sample of teachers.

The most striking thing about these results is their similarity over the different groups of teachers. The expatriates and the Africans are much more in agreement on the relative priorities of national goals than they are on their knowledge of the national government. All groups rank the goal of national unity, stability, and harmony first. This, of course, accurately reflects the government priority given to this issue. The importance of unity is referred to in virtually every public speech by political leaders. Underscoring these policy statements is the memory of recent disturbances deriving from the conflict between the major tribe in the country and the central government. This conflict came very close to destroying the tenuous existence of Uganda as a nation.

There is a difference on the choice of the second priority with all groups of expatriates choosing a higher standard of living, while the Africans and Asians split their choice between mass literacy and agricultural development. The choice for third place just reverses the positions of the expatriates and the Africans on the second place choice. The Africans come from a more rural, agricultural background and seem to better realize its relative importance for Uganda. The expatriates are generally not from a rural background, and seem to be guided more by the fact that they are teachers in choosing to place priority on expansion of primary education.[20]

Two other interesting factors emerge. The Makerere students are the only group to rank the need for high-level manpower above fifth. They themselves, of course, represent virtually the only source of this manpower and hence seem to be more aware of its importance. The other difference occurs with the higher ranking of industrial development by the Asians. This probably reflects the experience of having members of their family engaged in industry since the Asians have until recently supplied virtually all the middle and higher level skilled manpower for such light industries as exist in the country.

To summarize then, the teachers seem to have acquired an awareness of the general goals of the government which coincides fairly well with the government's actual aims. However, at a more specific level, the expatriate groups show a significantly lower level of awareness of national affairs than their African and Asian colleagues do. Likewise, the expatriates have a lower affective orientation toward the government. Among the expatriate groups, the Missionaries tend to be the highest, i.e., the closest to the African positions. The Asians, on the other hand, tend to be the lowest of the local teachers and therefore the closest to the expatriate positions. The ordering of the groups within the expatriates and within the Africans has been discussed and some tendencies noted which will be referred to again when other dimensions of teacher attitudes are presented.

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[20] It is interesting to note that the opinion of the Africans coincides with the recommendations of economic and educational planners who are very concerned with what to do with the numbers of primary school leavers being produced already.

Having looked at both the cognitive and the affective content of the teachers' perceptions of the government, the discussion now turns to the question of the communications behavior of the teachers. If the teacher is going to act as an agent of socialization, he must communicate his attitudes and knowledge to the pupils in some way. Measures of communication behavior and their relation to other communications experiences of the teachers will be considered in the next section.

Discussion of National Affairs

Two aspects of the communication behavior of the teacher were considered in this study: the frequency of discussions of national affairs, and the feelings of the teacher on the appropriateness of such discussions in the school. A scale to measure this type of communication behavior was constructed from the five items which loaded heavily on Factor XI. The items refer to both in- and out-of-class situations and give the respondent a variety of ways to indicate his feelings about discussing national affairs.

Of the three items which refer directly to discussing such issues in the classroom, one asks simply how frequently problems of national or local concern in Uganda become topics of discussion in the classes taught by the teacher. The other two probe different facets of the question of whether a teacher should discuss such topics in class. In one, the teacher is given an agree-disagree choice to the statement that, "Controversial issues should not be discussed in the classroom because they only provoke emotional responses and interfere with constructive learning." The other one gives the teacher a dichotomous choice to the problem of whether the teacher as a civil servant should or should not express a personal opinion about an issue of national interest.

A fourth question relates to the role of the school in general rather than to specific classroom behavior. The question states, "Schools should regard the political education of their pupils as an important part of their job." Teachers are given a five-point continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree for their response.

The final question included in the scale refers to the more general environment rather than the school; it asks, "About how many people are there with whom you feel it would be better not to discuss affairs of a political nature?" Answers to this question are interpreted as indicators of the level of concern which a person has about the possible consequences of expressing political opinions. Almond and Verba put it slightly differently when they suggest that such a question reflects the degree of openness of the political communications process in a country.[21] To the extent that the African teachers and students in the sample represent the average educated Ugandan, their responses might be taken as an indicator of the openness of the communication process in Uganda.

The interpretation of the scale constructed from these items is thus based on the theme of participation in the political process by discussion of affairs of concern to the nation. For teachers this participation has an added importance of probably transmitting both the content of the issues and the value of the discussion of such issues to the pupils. The relationship between the communications behavior of the teacher and his perception of the government, as indicated by his position on the two scales just discussed, will have important implications for his effectiveness as an agent of socialization.

Table 7.4 presents the results of the scale on discussion of national affairs by groups of teachers (Scale 3). The format is the same as before. The pattern of rankings between the groups is quite different, indicating that the dichotomy between Africans and expatriates may be less useful in interpreting this scale.

Both volunteer groups and the British Local group are on the high end of the scale indicating a high level of discussion. The bulk of the British teachers, who are in the trained group, fall near the center of the distribution while the missionaries come at the very bottom of the ranking. Except for the Makerere group, which is ranked second, the Africans are toward the bottom of the rankings, indicating a lower level of discussion.

The ranking of the groups on the questions which make up the scale are quite varied. The changing positions of the groups reflect some conflict between teachers' feelings about the kinds of discussion that should take place and the teachers' perception of some of the pressures acting on them. For instance, the answers to the question asking about the value of discussing controversial issues in class seem to be contradicted by the answers to the question about expressing an

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[21] Almond and Verba, op. cit., p. 82.

TABLE 7.4

SCALE 3

DISCUSSION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	+.04	.65	124	5
British TEA/Vol	+.12	.61	38	4
British Local	+.14	.70	23	3
Peace Corps	+.28	.62	40	1
Missionaries	-.33	.63	30	9
Asians	-.27	.43	46	8
Africans	+.02	.54	60	6
Makerere	+.18	.53	24	2
Kyambogo	-.07	.54	77	7

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
1.33	0.35	3.82	.001

Critical differences by size of rank differences (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .267 C.D. (5) = .378 C.D. (9) = .433

opinion in the classroom. In the first question the expatriates, particularly the Peace Corps, score strongly in favor of discussion, while the Africans show much less enthusiasm for such discussion. However, their positions are just reversed on the question asking whether a teacher should express his opinion in the classroom.

While expressing one's opinion is certainly not the same thing as favoring discussion in the classroom, the two would tend to go together since discussion of issues in the classroom almost inevitably draws the teacher into at least an indirect indication of his viewpoint. The comments of the expatriate teachers give some of the reasons for the difference. Typical comments on the question asking whether a teacher should express his opinion were: "expatriates shouldn't, Ugandans should," or "Peace Corps Volunteers are forbidden to do so," or "must be very careful in doing so." The comments indicate a clear awareness on the part of the expatriates that they are not citizens and, hence, must exercise care in what they say. Many of them genuinely feel that they are not really qualified to express an opinion because of their status. A smaller proportion of them are concerned directly with the threat of sanctions as indicated by more extreme comments; "24 hours notice if you do express your opinion."

Another thread of concern running through the comments indicates that the teachers are consciously aware of their responsibilities as employees of the national government. Comments such as: "as a teacher in Uganda one has a duty to the government of Uganda for the sake of unity in the country," and "one wouldn't go directly against government policy," and "as a civil servant I feel an obligation to tread very tactfully," show that many of the expatriates feel constrained to avoid outright criticism of government policy in class. From one point of view this represents a restriction of the teachers' participation in the political process. Yet, in the context of a developing country, it also represents a source of badly needed system support in a situation where a common acceptance of the whole system is still being established.

The constraint which the expatriates seem to feel in the classroom does not extend to discussion of national affairs outside of class. Teachers were asked how frequently they discussed public affairs and matters of national interest in Uganda with other people.[22] The ranking of replies to this question place all the expatriates except the Missionaries at high levels of discussion and the Africans at a lower level. Directly paralleling these rankings are the rankings for the question referring to the number of people it is better not to discuss such things with. The expatriates thus seem to discuss such things more frequently, and at the same time seem to be less worried about the risks involved, than most of the African teachers.

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[22] This question is not included in the scale. Its loading on factor eleven was 0.22 which is below the cutting point of 0.30 used in constructing the scales.

Finally, comparing patterns of responses on out-of-class discussion to patterns of responses to the question dealing with the frequency of discussion of national issues within the classroom, one finds that the expatriates are below the Africans in frequency of discussions in both circumstances. The differences between the groups are fairly small, but most of the Africans are ranked above most of the expatriates. The Makerere group ranks first and is significantly above all the other groups, indicating a high frequency of discussion in classes which they teach.[23] A secondary explanation of the greater discussion activity of African teachers might lie in the degree to which pupils raise such questions with different kinds of teachers. An attractive hypothesis would be the assertion that African pupils are more likely to want to engage in discussion of national issues with an African teacher. Pupils might well perceive the opinions of the African teachers on such issues as being more relevant than those of expatriate teachers.

The degree to which various kinds of teachers see the out-of-class situation as being fairly open for discussion of political affairs may, in part, reflect the level of risk which is involved for them. The groups which rank highest on openness, i.e., indicate the fewest numbers of people with whom they would not discuss national issues, are precisely those groups which have the shortest commitment to work in Uganda. The three highest groups are the British and American volunteers and the British Local wives, of whom the latter are in a low risk situation because their jobs are of a temporary nature. The British Trained teachers are down near the average for the Africans, and the Missionaries are at the same level as the Africans. Both of these latter groups have longer term commitments which they are less willing to jeopardize. Finally, the lowest group, by a large margin, is the Asians, who, as discussed previously, are in a difficult and uncertain position. The implication, in terms of the openness of the over-all situation in the country, is that most of the educated Africans are in a position where there are some people with whom it would be better not to discuss affairs of a political nature.

When the issue is raised to its most general level, as in the question asking for the teachers' opinion of whether the school should regard political education as an important part of its task, the pattern seems to be based more on the philosophy underlying the actions of the teacher. The three African groups and the Peace Corps rank highest on this question, indicating a feeling that the schools should undertake this kind of training as an important part of its task.[24] For the Americans, this corresponds with the prevailing notion of secondary school activity in their own country. For the Africans, this seems to represent a change in position from what they have experienced in their own secondary education in Africa. For the most part, political education was totally absent from the secondary schools which they attended, reflecting the primarily British derived traditions of the schools.

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[23] This high level of discussion runs contrary to the generally conservative picture of Makerere students. It may be related to the fact that their teaching experience has been limited to practice teaching. When they have been teaching for a while they may become more aware of the risks involved and decrease the amount of discussion in class.

That this is the British position is represented by the fact that the British Trained group and the British Local group rank the lowest of all the groups on the question. The only exception is found in the British Volunteer group which ranks just below the last African group. The Missionaries, although not all British, fall at the same place as the British Trained group, indicating a similarly conservative policy on political education, although probably for somewhat different reasons.

The complexity of the patterns on these different questions stem from the different levels which the questions tap. On the highest level of philosophy, the Peace Corps and the Africans favor school participation in political education. When it comes more specifically to discussing controversial issues in the class the Africans have backed off, leaving the Peace Corps and the British more in favor. (Note that this question did not specifically indicate that controversial issues were necessarily political.) When more specific reference is made to holding discussions of national affairs and expressing one's own opinion, the Africans again move to a more positive position relative to the expatriates. The expatriates begin to feel constrained at that level because of their noncitizen status and the risks involved in speaking out.

The scale composed from all these questions is interpreted with the over-all rationale that individuals who tend to favor a philosophy of political education, discussion of national issues, and expression of their own opinion, are those most likely to encourage their pupils to become aware of national issues. The final ranking is taken to indicate an over-all level of tendency toward or against discussion of national issues in a school environment. Thus, the ranking of the Asians and the Missionaries at the bottom indicate a cumulatively low tendency on their part to discuss national affairs and a tendency to feel that such activities are not a proper part of school activities. On the other hand, the Peace Corps and the Makerere students have a cumulatively high tendency, indicating a much higher probability of engaging in discussions with pupils.

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[24] The Ominde report notes the importance of one aspect of political education: "... we need teachers whose horizon is national, rather than tribal, and who are therefore capable of communicating their own lively interest in the nation to children under their charge." S. Ominde (chmn.), Kenya Education Commission Report: Part I. (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964), p. 41.

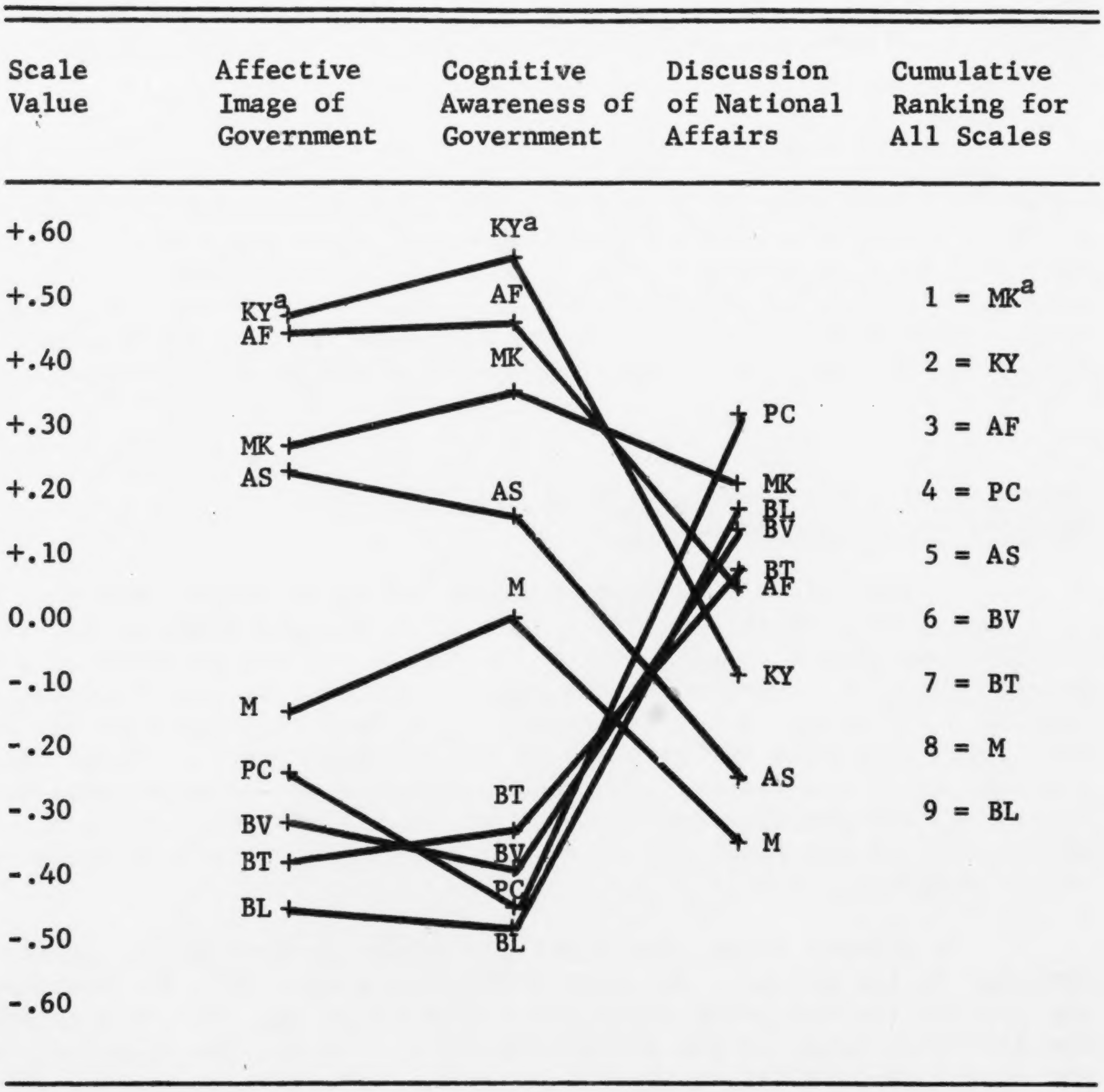
If the tendency toward discussion is taken as an indicator of the probable frequency of communication behavior, then it becomes most important to relate such behavior to the probability that the communicator will have the kinds of information and attitudes that it is desirable to have communicated. In the following section the relations between the three scales presented above will be discussed and attempts made to understand what kinds of teachers seem to have the greatest potential for socializing pupils along the lines of national goals.

Communications Behavior, Affective and Cognitive Orientations toward Government

To facilitate comparison between the three scales, a figure has been constructed which presents a profile of the positions of the different teaching groups on each scale. In Figure 7.2 the position of a particular group is indicated by the appropriate pair of code letters placed next to a '+' mark. Thus, for example, the 'Ky' at the top of the first two scales indicates the position of the Kyambogo group which is ranked first on those two scales. The numerical value of the mean score which determines the position can be found by reading the position on the scale at the left of the chart, or by referring to the appropriate table earlier in the chapter.

As already noted, the first two scales produce quite similar rankings of the groups. The only difference arises from the position of the British trained group which moves from below the volunteer groups on the affective image of the government scale to above the volunteers on the cognitive orientation scale. However, when these two scales are compared with the communications behavior scale, it becomes apparent that those who are most positively oriented and have the most knowledge about the government are not necessarily those who are most likely to engage in activities which have the potential of transmitting these orientations to pupils.

Of the African groups which rank high on the first two scales only Makerere also ranks high on the discussion scale. Thus, the Makerere group would seem to hold the greatest promise of acting as effective agents of socialization. Unfortunately, the Makerere group is relatively small, and the attrition rate between graduation and taking up a job as a teacher



[a] Key: KY = Kyambogo; AF = African; MK = Makerere; AS = Asian; M = Missionaries; PC = Peace Corps; BV = British TEA/Vol; BT = British Trained; BL = British Local

FIGURE 7.2 COMPARATIVE RANKING OF TEACHER GROUPS ON THREE SCALES

will probably be fairly large, leaving little hope for any great impact from this group in the immediate future.

The Kyambogo group is likewise highly oriented, but ranks seventh on the discussion scale, indicating a lack of the kinds of activities which might promote transmission. However, the Kyambogo group did rate fairly high on the two questions pertaining to in-class discussion behavior. Whether more extended classroom experience will lead them to become less active or whether they will remain fairly active is open to conjecture. They are a particularly crucial group because they represent the largest single source of African teachers and will make up a substantial proportion of the total teaching force in a few years. On the whole, their potential socializing effect seems to be quite high.

The Africans already teaching form the next group. They are second on the orientation scales and sixth on the discussion scale, but, as in the case of Kyambogo, they rank high on the two questions within the discussion scale which pertain to actual discussion of national issues in the classroom. This group has the added advantage of some experience in political activities. Teachers were asked whether they had ever participated in any political activities in Uganda. Nearly one third of the African teachers indicated that they had: 10% campaigning or organizing political activities, 10% being a candidate for political office, and the remaining 10% actually having held a political office of some kind.[25] The fact that these teachers are citizens, have considerable knowledge about Uganda, and also have some political experience, makes them potentially very effective as agents of political socialization.

The Asians rank next on the two orientation scales, but come out next to the bottom on the discussion scale. Even if the Asians were willing to discuss national issues freely in class, it is doubtful if many of them would be successful in overcoming the generally negative stereotypes which pupils carry of Asians. Because of the history of mistrust between the two communities it is not very likely that the African child would see an Asian teacher as a reliable source of information about national issues or would try to model his behavior after actions of an Asian teacher. It is unfortunate that the position of the Asians is so weak because within their own community they frequently have considerable experience in interacting with various power elites to achieve desired goals. The Asian community contains a wide range of groups, many of them formed to promote some social or welfare role.[26] The community could serve as an instructive model in participatory democratic action for the larger nation if these activities had more visibility to non-Asians and if prevailing stereotypes were less negative. As the situation stands now, there is little hope of much transfer of these techniques taking place in the near future.

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[25] The only other group in the entire sample to mention any political activities was the 10% of the Kyambogo group who indicated that they had done some campaigning and organizing. It is noteworthy that none of the Makerere students and none of the Asians mentioned any activities of this sort. The implications are that the new members of the ruling elite complete all of their education without any experience of political activity. (These measures may be abnormally low because the instability in the country over the last few years has resulted in the cancelling of many political activities like elections and campaigns.)

A similar pattern exists for the Missionaries. They rank fifth on the two orientation scales, but come in last on the discussion of national affairs. Thus, although the missionaries are higher than the rest of the expatriates on knowledge about the government, they are less likely to transmit this knowledge because of their infrequent discussion of such issues. The special status and way of life of the missionaries may well affect their credibility in the eyes of pupils as sources of information about the country. On the one hand, their special status may make them seem less plausible as models for citizenship and as sources of information, while, on the other, their long experience in the country and their close association with religion may enhance their affective appeal to the pupils. To go beyond such speculation, however, data need to be collected about pupils' perceptions of the various kinds of teachers.

The pattern exhibited by the two volunteer groups is just the reverse of that shown by the Asians and the Missionaries. The volunteer groups have low rankings on both affective and cognitive orientations toward the government, but rank high on discussion of such affairs in the classroom and elsewhere. The author would speculate that because these teachers are young, active in sports and societies with the students, and generally more informal in relations with the pupils, the volunteers would tend to create stronger feelings in the pupils and hence be more effective as transmitters of information and attitudes. Coupled with this tendency is their relative lack of information which would, of course, limit the amount of content transmitted.

The remaining two groups, the British Trained teachers and the British Local teachers, show much the same pattern as the volunteers. In fact, the only real difference between the four groups is the high rating of the Peace Corps on discussion and the very low position of the British Local teachers on the two orientation questions. The potential effectiveness of the British Local teachers is further reduced by the fact that they are almost all women, a fact which would probably limit their credibility as sources of information for most pupils given the position which women generally occupy in their own society. However, their effectiveness with female pupils might be quite different. The British Trained teachers also seem to have relatively low potential as sources of information, although probably somewhat better on the average than the British Local teachers.

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[26] Afro-Asian relationships and these kinds of community organizations are discussed by R. H. Desai in his article entitled: "Afro-Asian Relationships in Small Towns," in Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa, op. cit., p. 101.

The over-all result seems to indicate that the expatriate teachers are generally lower than the Africans and Asians on both affective and cognitive orientations toward the government. However, on the discussion question the expatriates and the Africans are generally mixed together with only the Makerere group and the Peace Corps being somewhat above the others. The cumulative ranking displayed in the fourth column of Figure 7.2 may indicate the relative potential which these groups have as sources of information, although it is at best a highly tentative ranking. What is clear is that the distribution of knowledge and positive orientations toward the government is not the same as the distribution of ideas about the desirability of teacher-pupil interaction on national issues. To go much further than this information would require a study of how the pupils perceive their teachers. Hopefully, the information in this chapter would provide a basis for the design of such a research project.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TEACHER, THE SCHOOL AND THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION

In this chapter, the focus will move from the teachers' views of the political system to the teachers' views of the ways in which the school teaches pupils the skills needed to be a participating member in the political system. The internal organization and functioning of the school is primarily determined by the teachers' perceptions of what is desirable; hence, the importance of discovering just what the teachers feel is appropriate.

Teachers' feelings about patterns of pupil participation in school organization and about the distribution of authority within the school will be discussed in terms of two scales. One is designed to probe teachers' feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the present system of organization, particularly in terms of its relevance to the needs of Uganda today. The other is concerned explicitly with the desirability of having school organization based on democratic procedures. A third scale will then be discussed which relates to the teachers' degree of satisfaction with the relevance of education in general, including such things as curriculum and exams.

Concern about patterns of pupil participation in school derives from the knowledge that effective strategies for learning new behaviors require frequent opportunities to practice the behavior in situations where continued guidance is available and where the penalties for error are not too high. If pupils are to learn the skills needed to become responsible, participating members of a democratic society, then they must have the opportunity to practice such skills before they become adult members of the community. The school is clearly in a position to provide such opportunities since it is one of the first contacts which a growing child has with an organized society.[1]

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[1] Various authorities concerned with social studies and with civics education in the United States have stressed the importance of the school as a model of the society which the pupil will enter later. See for example: D. W. Robinson, Promising Practices in Civic Education (Washington, C.D.: National Education Association, 1967), and R. E. Gross and L. D. Zeleny, Educating Citizens for Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).

Patterns provided by the school for relating to authority, for influencing decisions of authorities, and for mediating conflicting desires of different members of the school, all contribute opportunities for the child to practice behaviors which will form part of the repertoire of skills available to him as a member of the larger society. The underlying assumption is that the specific behaviors learned in school are those which are most likely to transfer to situations encountered after the pupil leaves school. For understandable reasons research evidence supporting or refuting this assumption is scarce.

Almond and Verba present some suggestive evidence in the Civic Culture which indicates that the opportunity to participate in school has a definite effect on the individual's subjective competence.[2] Experience in classroom discussion and debate also seems to produce a greater probability that the individual will feel competent to influence the government. However, the Almond and Verba data do not provide any direct evidence on the effect of objectively different types or levels of opportunity on later levels of competence. A more specific attempt to relate school behavior to political attitudes is provided by the research of Ziblatt.[3] He studied patterns of participation in extracurricular activities in the hopes of relating them to the political attitudes of the participants. However, his results only indicated that those who participated in activities were those who were highest on social trust of others.

The relative lack of success of research in relating patterns of school activity to later political attitudes and behavior is indicative primarily of the difficulty of designing and implementing research on longitudinal transfer of behavior. In addition, relatively little effort has been devoted to studying the problem on an experimental basis. Most writings in the field are speculative with the result that one finds the proposition strongly appealing on an intuitive basis, but has little empirical basis for making decisions about the value of specific types of activities.

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[2] G. A. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965, originally published by Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 287-292. They ultimately conclude that prediction of the competence of a particular individual depends on whether he took advantage of opportunities to participate in school. The implication remains, though, that the opportunity to participate is a necessary component of the process.

[3] D. Ziblatt, "High School Extracurricular Activities and Political Socialization," in Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (September, 1965), pp. 20-31.

The Teachers' Views on Pupil Participation in the School

Keeping in mind our limited understanding of the problem, we shall focus primarily on the feelings and perceptions of the teachers about the pattern of pupil participation in the schools. No attempt will be made to prescribe what form participation should take. Rather, questions raised by leading African statesmen and educators about the relevance of the current pattern will be used as a basis for gathering information on the positions taken by different kinds of teachers. The attitudes of the teachers will, of course, have implications for the probability of changes taking place in the situations now found in the schools.

The great majority of the schools in Uganda, both boarding and day, have what is referred to as a 'prefect system.' Prefects are pupils selected for their leadership and responsibility. They are given considerable authority in the daily running of the schools, including authority to punish pupils who misbehave. Their main function is to supervise school activities and to help the teachers carry out the school schedule. The system is organized on a hierarchical basis and the offices usually have certain privileges associated with them, although the privileges may be more symbolic than real.

The system derives from the methods of pupil organization practiced in the English public schools and maintains many of the same characteristics, even in its African setting. The implications of this kind of organization of the school community for the political culture in England is discussed by Richard Rose in his book entitled Politics in England. He feels that its significant aspect for the political culture lies in the stress which it places on the training of youths for the "different but complementary roles of leader and follower."[4] The public school system and its characteristics, like the use of prefects, is rooted in the historical origins of the structure of British society and has, in the past, made great contributions to the political culture of England. Today, however, it is the center of a growing controversy as the current British government tries to make the system more democratic and open.

If questions are being raised about the relevance of the system in England, such questions are even more cogent in the context of Uganda where the schools have no roots in the structure of Ugandan society. A number of African and expatriate writers have expressed concern about the structure of the schools and, in particular, about the organization of the community within the school. Onyango, in his study of discipline and punishment in the schools of England and Uganda, argues that the prefect system, when applied in Africa, gives the prefects a type of authority which they have had no experience with in their own society. He maintains that tribal authority is based on mutual respect and agreement and that appointing African boys as prefects frequently leads to abuses because they lack relevant behavior models.[5]

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[4] R. Rose, Politics in England (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), p. 71.

The call for modification of the schools, in order that they may reflect more accurately the values and organization of African society, has become a common feature of public speeches, conferences, and publications. Nyerere, in his Education for Self-Reliance, emphasizes the need for education to reflect cooperative endeavor, to stress concepts of equality and responsibility, and to avoid the temptation of intellectual arrogance.[6] The UNESCO report on the adaptation of the secondary school curriculum in Africa calls for the participation of pupils in the life of the school and in the maintenance of school discipline based on common consent.[7] Senteza Kajubi, the Director of the National Institute of Education in Uganda, argues that the schools must support and encourage those aspects of life which are most valued by the community. He then indicates that decision making on a group basis is an important part of the traditional ways of the African community.[8]

Although the comments of the authors cited above are directed at the whole organization of the school, clearly they have implications for the relevance of a prefectorial system of authority and discipline. Eckstein, commenting on the comparative characteristics of pupil organizations in British and American schools, notes that the prefect system derives its authority from above, not from the support or consensus of those being led.[9] The obvious conflict between the traditions and values underlying the prefect system and those characteristic of African societies provided part of the rationale for the first scale to be discussed in this section.

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[5] B. Onyango, "A Study of Discipline and Punishment in the Schools of England and Uganda with Reference to Character Training" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 1961), p. 86. Mr. Onyango is now the registrar for the University of East Africa.

[6] J. K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Government Printer, 1967), p. 7.

[7] UNESCO, "Final Report of Meeting of Experts on Adaptation of General Secondary School Curriculum in Africa," Tananarive, Madagascar, July 1963. (Paris: UNESCO, 1963), p. 15.

[8] W. S. Kajubi, "Crises and Values in East African Education" (Makerere University College: National Institute of Education, 1966), p. 12. (Mimeographed.)

[9] M. A. Eckstein, "The Elitist and the Popular Ideal," International Revue of Education, XII, No. 2 (1966), p. 192.

The scale was constructed from the six items which loaded on Factor II with weights greater than .3 (Scale 4). Each of the items is related to the way in which the teacher perceives the pattern of pupil participation in the running and organization of the school. The answers are not intended to provide an objective measure of the situation in the school, but rather to measure the teachers' feelings about the situation which they find in their schools. While all schools in the sample have a prefect system which carries out the same formal tasks, schools differ somewhat in the informal patterns of usage which have developed around the formal system. In interpreting the data from this scale, the assumption is, therefore, being made that differences between schools are distributed randomly with regard to the groupings of teachers being used.[10]

Two of the questions in the scale deal with the amount of participation which the pupils have in the organization and running of the school. One asks the teachers how much participation there is in their school and the other asks whether the teachers feel the amount which exists is more, less, or about as much as is desirable. The common factor in these two questions is the judgmental aspect of the teachers' perception. In answering both questions the teacher holds the school up to some internal standard of adequacy and judges accordingly. The author would hypothesize that this standard is determined primarily by the experiences of the teacher in previous schools, both as a student and as a teacher.

The third question inquires about the extent of pupil dissatisfaction in the school. The possible answers range from "several important areas of pupil dissatisfaction" to "no noticeable areas of pupil dissatisfaction." Again, the results of the question may not be exactly the same as objective reality, but instead, they reflect the teachers' views of pupil concern. The incidence of strikes and unrest in the schools has been fairly high in the years following independence as the pupils seek to produce changes in the organization of the schools which better reflect the changes on the national scene. Much of the difficulty can be traced to problems of communication between pupils and teachers, a problem severely accentuated by the fact that most of the teachers come from a different culture. To probe this aspect of the school, teachers were asked to agree or disagree on a five point scale with the statement that "Pupils in our school have adequate channels for making their desires and complaints known to the staff." As before, the teachers' answers are taken as indicators of their feelings about the adequacy of the present arrangements.

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[10] Ultimately the author intends to combine the data gathered about schools with the information on teachers in order to more rigorously test the validity of such assumptions. The author's intuitive feeling after visiting the schools is that many idiosyncratic factors influence the characteristics to be found in a given school.

The two remaining questions in the scale are more general, asking the teacher to respond in terms of his degree of satisfaction 1) with "the way the prefect system functions in the school," and 2) with the statement that "the school is producing pupils with the knowledge, attitudes, and values which are necessary and relevant to their future lives in Uganda." The more general nature of the feelings tapped by the last question is indicated by the fact that it loads on two of the scales discussed in this section; the present one and the one indicating the teachers' feelings about the relevance of the education being provided.

The common theme joining these items together is thus one of concern: the teachers' degree of concern about the effectiveness and relevance of the pattern of pupil participation in their schools. The items and the scale are all scored in such a way that a high score represents a high degree of concern and a low score represents a feeling of satisfaction with the system as it exists now.[11] The mean scores of the different teacher groups are presented in Table 8.1 along with supporting data about the distributions.

The pattern of ranks which emerges when all items are considered shows three different sets of teacher groups (see Figure 8.2). The distance between the sets is not quite large enough to reach significance, but the pattern shows considerable consistency over the items included in the scale. The set which shows the most dissatisfaction with the present level of pupil participation contains the Peace Corps and the two groups of Africans training to be teachers. The second set contains all the British groups and the Africans who are teaching in the schools. Slightly below but included in this set, one finds the Asians, who in this case are similar in attitude to the British. This set of five groups has a score which indicates that they are, in general, fairly satisfied with the patterns of participation which exist. The final

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[11] Support for the implicit value judgment made in assigning the scale direction is provided by the fact that the government found it desirable to appoint a commission to investigate problems of discipline and strikes in the secondary schools. The author's attempt to collect data on the incidence of such problems was necessarily curtailed in deference to the official commission operating in the schools at the same time that the research reported in this study was being carried out. At this time (December, 1968) the commission's report has not been released.

TABLE 8.1

SCALE 4

SATISFACTION WITH LEVELS OF PUPIL PARTICIPATION BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	.00	.65	123	4
British TEA/Vol	-.06	.56	38	6
British Local	-.02	.51	23	5
Peace Corps	+.33	.78	40	1
Missionaries	-.46	.51	30	9
Asians	-.13	.68	48	8
Africans	-.07	.63	60	7
Makerere	+.18	.65	20	3
Kyambogo	+.25	.56	68	2

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
1.93	0.39	4.91	.001

Critical Differences[a] by size of rank difference. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .284 C.D. (5) = .401 C.D. (9) = .560

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[a] The procedure for using the critical differences in comparisons between pairs of means is described in the footnote to Table 7.1.

group, which indicates a high degree of satisfaction, is the Missionaries who are well below the second set. Their distance from the British Trained group is somewhat larger than the critical interval needed for significance.

Within the larger pattern set by the scale there seem to be two different trends when the pattern of answers to the individual items is studied. (See the details of this scale in Appendix C.2 for group means on individual items.) When asked about the amount of participation which the pupils have in the schools now, all the Africans and the Missionaries seem to agree that there is a reasonable amount. The British and the Asians perceive a somewhat lower degree of participation, and the Peace Corps teachers, on the average, feel that there is a good deal less participation than is perceived by the British. The British are probably using the amount of participation characteristic of prefects in English schools as a yardstick and find the African prefects a little less active. The Americans are referring to an entirely different pattern of participation characteristic of American High Schools and, hence, find much less participation than they expected to in an African secondary school. In contrast to the expatriates, the Africans compare the amount of participation to their own experiences in essentially the same schools and find that a reasonable amount exists.

The other trend, which is stronger, is reflected in the three questions which contain an underlying concern with the adequacy of the present arrangements. Thus, when asked about the need to increase the amount of participation, about the adequacy of the existing channels of communication between pupils and staff, and about the level of pupil dissatisfaction, one again finds that the Peace Corps and the two African student groups are highly concerned relative to the other groups. The position of the African student groups may derive from a tendency to identify themselves primarily as students rather than as teachers. In part, they may be projecting current dissatisfactions with communications and participation in their training institutions. On the other hand, they have received most of their training since independence and, as a result, have been exposed to a different set of values and expectations during that period. The author would predict a much greater concern with communications when these students become teachers in the schools.

Except for the Missionaries, the rest of the groups tend to fall together in a median position which indicates a mild degree of concern over the adequacy of the present pattern. The position of the African teachers on these questions is not significantly different from the positions of the British teachers, but on the questions dealing with participation and degree of pupil dissatisfaction, the Africans are ranked at the top of these middle groups. They are thus less concerned than the younger Africans, and on the whole tend to be quite similar to the British groups. Most of these African teachers received their education in the schools that existed before independence and it would seem that their expectations about pupil participation have not changed greatly since then.

The Asians fall in the middle of the British groups on these three questions, possibly reflecting the degree to which they subscribe to British norms with regard to patterns of school organization. The median age of the Asians is about 35 and, like the African teachers, they received their secondary education some time ago. In addition, the author would estimate that as much as 25% of the group received their secondary education in Great Britain which, of course, would increase their tendency to apply similar norms to the school situation.

The missionaries ranked ninth on all the questions included in the scale. Their pattern of reactions seems to suggest a very conservative viewpoint with regard to the participation of pupils in school organization. They perceive the pupils as not having a great deal of participation in the school and at the same time feel that this level of participation is as much as is desirable. They perceive the pupils as having only a few minor areas of dissatisfaction and feel that the communications channels which exist are generally adequate. The fact that the median age of the missionaries is over 40, and that they have generally spent many years teaching in the schools, indicates an adherence to a set of norms common in the schools a decade or more ago.[12]

In order to make the relationships between type of teacher and age more visible, the regression lines between age and score on the pupil participation scale have been plotted in Figure 8.1. As before, care must be taken in interpreting these lines. The reader will note that the length of the lines varies and indicates only the valid range of the data. In this case, the intersection of the lines with the vertical axis has no meaning since there are no people in the sample who are less than about 18 years old. In fact most of the groups do not have reasonable numbers of members below the 20 to 24 year point on the horizontal scale. The reader should also remember that the zero value of the scale has no intrinsic meaning beyond the fact that it is the mean of the distribution of scale scores.

The over-all impression gained from the graph is the existence of a definite trend for the older teachers in all groups, except the

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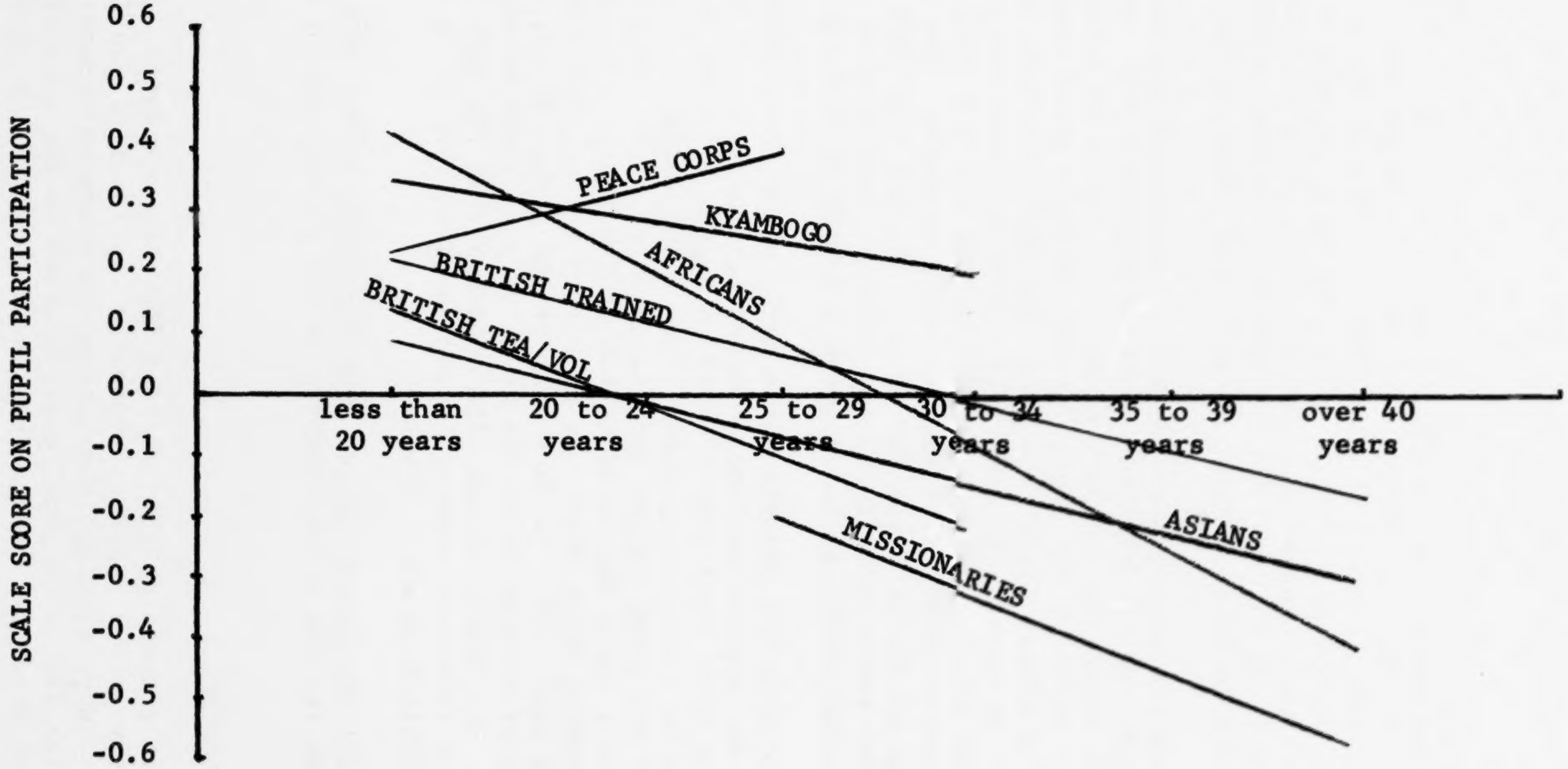
[12] While this general pattern emerges from the responses, there was a small but very active minority among the missionaries who felt much differently. In particular, the author remembers one school which was instituting high levels of pupil participation in the wake of a serious disturbance which had forced the school to close the previous year.



The British Local and the Makerere groups are not included because of their small size.

FIGURE 8.1 FEELINGS ABOUT PUPIL PARTICIPATION BY AGE BY TEACHER GROUP

Peace Corps, to feel more satisfied with the patterns of pupil participation which now exist in the schools. The unusual slope of the regression line for the Peace Corps probably does not have any particular significance because the age range in the sample is so limited. However, the position of the line does indicate the relatively high score of all the Peace Corps volunteers. The regression line for the African teachers is particularly instructive in revealing the relationship between the African students at Kyambogo who are training to be teachers and the younger Africans who are now teaching. The African teachers, as a group, rank seventh among the nine groups even though the youngest members of the group are among the highest on the scale scores.

An unexpected result revealed by the graph is the position of the British volunteer group below the British Trained group in comparable age ranges. The author would have expected volunteers to be closer to the American volunteers, particularly in view of their lack of teaching experience to temper their ideals. When the group means are adjusted on the basis of an analysis of covariance to control for age differences, the British Volunteer group drops to the bottom of the set containing the other British teachers, the Africans, and the Asians. However, the difference between the volunteers and the British Trained is not significant.[13]

The results produced by this scale demonstrate the considerable range of opinion in staff members about the most satisfactory way of managing pupil participation in school affairs. Supporting evidence for the range is provided by the comments recorded in answer to the question about the degree of teacher satisfaction with the prefect system. Many teachers indicate that the system seems to work fairly well, but could be improved with more supervision, better definition of the roles, and more initiative in taking responsibility on the part of the prefects. In contrast, an equally large number of teachers indicate a concern about the serious lack of communication between prefects and staff, and many comment on the unsuitability of a selection system in which the pupils generally play no part.

The fact that over 10% of the teachers felt the need to make a comment about the question is an indicator of the salience of this problem for the schools and the strength of the teachers' feelings.[14] The contents of the comments show that most of the teachers are concerned primarily with the effectiveness of the system in relation to the amount of staff supervision it needs. Only a few express concern over the authority patterns which the system propagates and their implications for an independent Uganda. In general, the schools lack supporting staff to help in the supervision of the many aspects of boarding school life and hence a reasonably effective prefect system is a necessity if the school is to function at all. Concern with the representativeness of the prefects and the patterns of communication tends to come up only when the effectiveness drops below an acceptable level.

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[13] The F test for heterogeneity of regression failed on the seven groups included in Figure 8.1 and thus the conditions for performing analysis of covariance were satisfied. The adjusted means after the analysis differed only in the ordering of the groups within the middle set. The British Volunteers dropped from sixth to eighth and the Africans and Asians moved up one rank to sixth and seventh respectively.

The task facing the headmaster in organizing the pattern of pupil participation is therefore twofold. First, he must have a system which provides effective support for the staff in carrying out the extensive supervisory duties required by the boarding school environment. Second, he must reconcile the great variety of feelings and expectations which his staff has about the amount and type of participation which the pupils are to have in the running of the school. The results discussed in this section indicate some of the differences between the expectations of various types of teachers and also show that the age of the teacher can have an important effect on his feelings about the prefect system. Teachers' opinions about the degree of pupil involvement in selection of pupil leaders will be considered in more detail in the following section.

The Selection of Pupil Leaders

For the educator or social scientist interested in the socializing effects of patterns of pupil participation in the schools, the specific details of the interaction between the pupils and their leaders is important. If the school is to help the pupil acquire the skills and attitudes he will need in relating to authority and leadership in later life, then parallel opportunities must be present in the school. Earlier in this chapter the author indicated the divergence between the values underlying the prefect system and the precepts of both traditional African societies and the newly created African nation.

Before discussing the teachers' opinions on the selection of pupil leaders, it will be useful to present some information describing the methods actually used by the schools in the sample. The information was collected during an interview with the headmaster in each of the schools. Most schools have three levels of pupil leaders in addition to the internal structures of the various clubs and societies. These are the school prefects, house officials based on dormitory organization, and form officials. Headmasters were asked how each of these officials were selected in their schools. Tables 8.2 and 8.3 present the selection methods used for the three different levels of school leadership in the 31 schools included in the study.[15]

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[14] The total of 46 comments is split between the 40% who are fairly satisfied with the prefect system and are explaining their position, and the 60% who are somewhat or very unsatisfied and are justifying their position.

The results indicate relatively little participation by the pupils in the selection of their school leaders. The amount of participation tends to increase as the level of responsibility of the leader decreases. For instance, although half the schools allow pupils to elect form officials, these offices have little prestige and usually their responsibilities involve no more than helping the teacher with simple administrative tasks in the classroom. The authority of the form official extends over only the pupils in that class (about 30) and only in activities pertaining directly to the classroom. On a school-wide basis much less participation is the general rule with only 15% of the schools allowing direct pupil participation in the selection of prefects. Even this 15% puts restrictions on the process by requiring staff approval for candidates and, in some cases, by limiting the franchise to pupils in the last two years of the school.

The one area of school activities where the pupils have relatively complete participation in the selection of their leaders is in the clubs and societies which are a part of extracurricular activities. Within these groups it is not unusual to find the complete range of officers normally found only in larger organizations. In a few cases, such as the ever popular debating society, one may even find ministers and permanent secretaries in a structure paralleling that of the national government.

To measure the teachers' feelings about the current level of pupil participation in the selection of their leaders, teachers were asked two questions.[16] The first required a choice between two statements: one stating that "pupils would benefit from a more democratic

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[15] These are the schools selected for the administration of the teacher questionnaire. While in the schools the author collected data on the school as an institution. The information in Tables 8.2 and 8.3 is taken from this supplementary data.

[16] Originally, a scale was constructed on the basis of factor thirteen which contained these two questions and a third one. However, because the value of Cronbach's Alpha was only .11 on the scale was dropped and the questions in it were used as individual items.

TABLE 8.2

DEGREE OF PUPIL PARTICIPATION IN SELECTION OF PREFECTS

Type of Participation	No. of Schools	% of Schools
No participation	10	32%
Some informal consultation of previous prefects for suggestions	11	36%
Stronger consultation: list of candidates submitted, maybe elect head prefect	5	16%
Actual election of most of the prefects by the pupils	5	16%

TABLE 8.3

DEGREE OF PUPIL PARTICIPATION IN SELECTION OF HOUSE AND FORM OFFICIALS

Degree of Participation	House Officials No. of Schools	House Officials % of Schools	Form Officials No. of Schools	Form Officials % of Schools
Officials appointed	9	56%	8	27%
Officials partially elected and partially appointed	4	25%	6	21%
Officials fully elected by the pupils in the group	3	19%	15	52%
TOTAL number of schools	16[a]		29[a]	

[a] In some cases the information was not obtained. For House officials many of the schools use the school prefects referred to in Table 8.2.

form of school organization in which they elected their own leaders...," and the other stating that "pupils get sufficient opportunity to practice the skills of self-government in their clubs and societies." The second question raised some of the common arguments against allowing pupils to elect their own leaders and asked teachers to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed. The text of the question was:

> If prefects were elected by the pupils, the confusion and the risk of unsuitable winners would more than offset any educational value there might be in the process of election.

While the results of the previous scale tended to measure teachers' feelings about the adequacy and effectiveness of the prefect system, these two questions are intended to make the teacher consciously aware of the training value which the system does or does not have. The responses of the teachers are shown in Table 8.4 which lists the means and the ranks of the various teacher groups on the two questions.

In each question the groups are clustered into two sets. For both questions, the set with the highest mean scores contains the Peace Corps Volunteers and the two African student groups.[17] In the question about the need for more democratic organization the higher cluster also contains the British Volunteer group, while in the question about election of prefects the higher cluster contains the Asians and not the British Volunteers. The lower cluster contains the other five groups, with the Missionaries ranked lowest. The differences indicate that the higher cluster feels more participation is desired and the lower cluster feels that the disadvantages and risks of greater participation would be too great.

Comments written next to these questions indicate that the main concern of those who are against greater participation is the effective running of the school. Comments like: "Democracy works among responsible people, and when things go wrong the Headmaster is held responsible, not the pupils;" or "Schools are not democratic communities and should not

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[17] The high level of concern indicated by Peace Corps volunteers on all the questions discussed in this chapter reflect some of the basic value orientations of their own society. A number of insights into conflicts caused by differences between American values and those operating in the schools of East Africa are found in an article by F. B. Nelson. "American Values and the Role of School Master in East Africa," Proceedings of the East African University of Social Science Conference, January 1964. (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1964), Part B.

TABLE 8.4

MEAN RESPONSES OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ELECTION OF PUPIL LEADERS

Group	DEMORG: Need for more democratic organization		PRFELCT: Problems with electing Prefects	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
British Trained	1.29	8	2.71	7
British TEA/Volunteer	1.36	6	3.08	4
British Local	1.32	7	2.78	5
Peace Corps	1.74	2	3.18	2
Missionaries	1.24	9	2.40	9
Asians	1.70	3	2.65	8
Africans	1.44	5	2.72	6
Makerere	1.65	4	3.23	1
Kyambogo	1.75	1	3.15	3

be," reflect the anxiety of the teachers who must grapple with the problem of keeping the school running. Other comments support this concern by indicating a lack of faith in the ability of the pupils to choose suitable leaders. The groups expressing the most concern about participation are also the older groups. They are generally the senior members of staff who currently hold positions of responsibility in running the schools.

The fact that the younger groups, composed of volunteers or students, are those most favorable toward more pupil participation has two implications. These groups have the least experience and the least responsibility and may well become more conservative when placed in positions of greater responsibility. Secondly, the chances of change in the direction of greater participation are not great given the views of those in authority in the schools. As the number of African teachers from Makerere and Kyambogo increases they may be able to move the schools toward more representative forms of organization. They will be hampered by their relative youth and lack of experience, and also by the fact that most of the teachers coming from the British tradition of schooling will have had little experience with more participatory forms of pupil organization.

The situation, even now, is not completely static. A number of schools have made attempts to modify the traditional prefect system by instituting councils composed of the existing pupil leaders and by allowing elections to take place for some offices. Unfortunately, some of the early attempts led to difficulties and had to be withdrawn. Part of the trouble derived from the relatively sudden nature of the changes. Clearly pupils need to be taught the skills of self-government, just as they are taught mathematics. A schedule of gradually increasing participation is necessary, with numerous opportunities to practice the skills of selecting suitable leaders, voicing demands in a realistic manner, and arriving at workable solutions to problems.[18]

The results of this and the previous section demonstrate that the problem of how pupils are going to participate in the running of the school is a source of increasing strife and concern. Pressures have been mounting since the advent of independence for greater pupil participation, but relatively few changes have so far occurred. The bulk of the staff in the schools feels that the present system is adequate and that the pupils are not ready for more responsibility. The system being used in most schools coincides with the one which the staff is familiar with and, hence, feel no particular need to change it. The type of staff who feel changes are needed are either young Africans, or Americans who are familiar with a different system. Support for changes could be found among younger British and Asian members of staff if those in authority were interested in promoting such changes.

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[18] The exact form which more participative pupil organizations should take is a matter for creative experimentation. The author is certainly not suggesting the wholesale transfer of patterns commonly used in American high schools. Hopefully, a pattern will be worked out that reflects the structures which seem to be developing at a national level and which also derive some thrust from the traditional African approach to community organization. As an example, the school might provide an ideal environment for building an organization similar to the one party states now common in Africa.

From the point of view of political socialization, the systems now used in most schools have only limited relevance for producing the kinds of skills that would appear to be desirable in an independent Uganda. While some observers would contend that more representative organization of the school community is not feasible because of the heavy responsibilities which the staff must delegate to pupil leaders, many others would disagree and point to models outlined by people such as Nyerere in his Education for Self-Reliance, as realistic alternatives. The question which all observers must answer in one way or another is: If the schools do not provide training in the kinds of participatory skills needed in the community, where are the pupils going to get these skills?

The question of the relevance of the participatory experiences provided by the school leads naturally to the more general question of the relevance of much of the content of the education being provided by the schools. The teachers' perceptions of this problem are probed in more detail in the next section.

The Relevance of Uganda's Educational System

The question of educational content is a source of debate in all countries. In the former colonies of Africa the debate has been even more pronounced because of the need to choose between Western and indigenous cultures. Numerous conferences and commissions have met and issued guidelines for arriving at a desirable mixture of indigenous and foreign elements in education. Quotations from two sources separated in time by nearly forty years will serve to illustrate the tenor of the continuing debate. The first quotation is contained in a paper presented to a conference at Dar es Salaam in 1925. The paper asks that "tribal conditions and customs be blended into school work, instead of blindly importing Western education."[19] The second quotation is found in the statement of objectives for secondary education produced by a UNESCO conference at Tananarive in 1963. These objectives state, in part, that cultural emancipation is a corollary of political emancipation and hence the need for curriculum reform to allow the "rediscovery of the African heritage and the transmission of that culture to African adolescents in secondary schools."[20]

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[19] Sir C. Dundas, "The Ideal of the African Citizen," Report of proceedings of Conference between the Government and Missions convened

In the early days of the colonies, a number of imaginative attempts were made to create schools which reflected aspects of the traditional societies. In a survey of these efforts, Furley and Watson indicate that the depression combined with growing pressures for a more academic type of education led to the downfall of many of these innovations.[21] In the years before independence the educational system became more literary and more Westernized. The situation at Independence was such that one observer was led to remark that, "There is no such thing as African education; there are only Africans being educated like Europeans."[22] African leaders in all three East African countries are well aware of the discrepancy between the content and the purpose of education in the new nations. In an article written five years after Independence, the Minister of Education for Uganda argues the need for revolutionary changes in the education system inherited at the time of independence.[23]

The problem of carrying out the desired changes in the curriculum has proved to be one of considerable challenge. The tremendous demands for increased capacity which were placed on the educational system at independence forced educational leaders to focus their resources and efforts almost exclusively on problems of size and quantity. It is only now, after having reached at least a minimally desired capacity, that

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by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, Dar es Salaam, October, 1925. Cited in O. Furley and T. Watson, "Education in Tanganyika between the Wars: Attempts to Blend Two Culutres," South Atlantic Quarterly, LXV, No. 4 (Autumn, 1966), p. 475.

[20] UNESCO, op. cit., p. 5.

[21] Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 480.

[22] P. Foster, White to Move? (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), p. 146.

[23] S. J. Luyimbazi-Zake, "The Educational Revolution," in The Challenge of Uganda's Second Five Year Development Plan (Kampala, Uganda: Milton Obote Foundation, 1967), p. 63.

resources are becoming available to deal with problems of content.[24] As curriculum committees are appointed and new syllabi are considered, the opinions of the teachers who must cooperate and contribute to the process become important in assessing the problems which attempts to promote such changes will face.

As an indicator of the teachers' feelings about the relevance of the education now being offered in the schools a scale was constructed from the items loading on Factor VI (Scale 5). The scale consists of five items which share a common theme of relevance while focusing on different aspects of the educational system. As in the other scale discussed in this chapter, the items and the scale are scored so that a high score represents a high degree of concern about the relevance and a low score indicates that the respondent is relatively satisfied with the relevance of the system. Three of the items deal directly with such aspects of the educational system as curriculum, the syllabus, and the examinations. The other two are more general and relate to the over-all character of the system.

The three specific items are presented as statements to which the respondent replies by indicating the extent of his agreement or disagreement on a five-point scale. The statement on the curriculum is phrased positively, saying, "that the over-all curriculum taught in my school is relevant and useful to the pupils, and requires only minor changes to make it appropriate for Uganda today." The question about the syllabus is more restricted, stating that, "the syllabus of the subject which I teach needs considerable revision before...."[25] The third question is phrased negatively. It argues that the examination system in its present form is not suitable for Uganda and needs major changes.

The fourth question asks teachers about their perceptions of the relevance of the English school tradition which Uganda inherited at independence. Four alternatives are offered which range from "the tradition is highly relevant and needs very little modification" to "the tradition has very little relevance for the needs of Uganda and far-reaching changes must be made." The final question inquires about the teachers' degree of satisfaction with the pupils being produced by the school and is the same question which was included in the first scale in this chapter.

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[24] Nyerere outlines the stages of reform undertaken by Tanzania since independence as follows: First, abolishing racial and religious bases for school organization; second, a massive expansion to produce needed manpower; and, third, the task of making the content relevant to Tanzania, op. cit., p. 4.

[25] Answers to this question will probably be affected by the subject which the respondent teaches. Unfortunately, the coding system used makes it difficult to classify the teachers by type of subject at this point. The inclusion of the question without controls for subject amounts to the assumption that the subject distribution is similar within the different teacher groups.

The mean scores of the various groups of teachers on this scale are presented in Table 8.5. It is not surprising that the over-all pattern is similar to the pattern in the previous scale since both scales share a common element of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the system (see Figure 8.2). The Peace Corps again ranks first, but this time the gap between them and the highest African group is significant. Following the Peace Corps is a cluster of three groups: the two African student groups and the British Volunteers. After a smaller gap a second cluster occurs which contains the remainder of the groups except for the Missionaries who are found by themselves at the bottom of the rankings.

The very high mean score of the Peace Corps teachers relative to the other groups reflects their high position on four out of five of the items contained in the scale. The only item where they do not rank first is the one concerned with the syllabus in the subject which they teach. This is the only question which produces a clear dichotomy between expatriates and the Africans and Asians; while the latter groups are all above the mean, the expatriates are below the mean. To the author, this suggests that the Peace Corps are answering these questions on the basis of a more general orientation toward the school system, rather than on the basis of certain specific complaints. Their feelings about the content of the syllabus are about the same as the rest of the expatriates. The Peace Corps teachers seem to be reacting strongly to their over-all impressions of the system as it contrasts with the kind of schools which they are familiar with at home.

To them, the schools appear overly academic in nature, unnecessarily formal, hierarchically organized, and primarily oriented toward producing an elite group of students. All of these aspects tend to conflict with the values of pragmatism, informality, and egalitarianism which the Americans have been taught at home.[26] Imbued with a high sense of idealism as volunteers dedicated to doing what Uganda needs, they experience severe difficulties in adjusting to their role in institutions which they perceive as having little relevance to either their own reasons for coming to Uganda or to the real needs of Uganda.

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[26] See Nelson, op. cit., p. 4-5. See also the discussion of American values as they affect the activities of Americans attempting to introduce social change overseas as presented in: C. Arensberg and A. Niehoff, Introducing Social Change: A Manual for Overseas Americans (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964).

TABLE 8.5

SCALE 5

RELEVANCE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.12	.68	120	7
British TEA/Vol	+.03	.74	37	4
British Local	-.10	.61	21	6
Peace Corps	+.47	.67	40	1
Missionaries	-.38	.71	30	9
Asians	-.07	.61	48	5
Africans	-.20	.57	56	8
Makerere	+.21	.55	21	2
Kyambogo	+.10	.55	75	3

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
2.46	0.41	6.02	.001

Critical differences by size of rank difference. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .286 C.D. (5) = .408 C.D. (9) = .468

Taken as a whole, the British teachers react much less adversely to the question of the relevance of the type of education. An important factor in this perception is certainly the fact that the organization and content of the education is similar to what they have themselves experienced at home. For most of them, this similarity seems to override any serious doubts about its relevance to Uganda, although many of them entertain doubts about specific details of the system. An interesting exception to this occurs with the ranking of the British Volunteer group. Their mean score places them in the cluster containing the two African Student groups and indicates a higher level of concern with the over-all relevance of the education. Their reaction could be considered similar to that of the Peace Corps but muted by the fact that much of the system is familiar to them and doesn't raise the value conflicts which bother the Americans. Their difference from the rest of the British teachers can thus be attributed to their greater concern about the relevance of the system for Uganda.

Support for this line of reasoning is offered by the rankings of the groups on the question which specifically asks about the 'English school tradition.' As expected, the Peace Corps ranks highest on this question by a large amount. However, the British volunteers come next, ranked at the top of the cluster in which they are included with the Asians, and the two African student groups. The remainder of the groups are all clustered together and rank relatively lower. The only non-expatriates in the lower group are the African teachers already in the schools. As noted before, these teachers are, on the average, much older and have been brought up in the system as it now stands with the apparent result that they do not see it as particularly unsuitable. The Missionaries rank lowest on this question also, even though many of them are not English.

To test the influence of age on perception of relevance, correlation coefficients between the two variables were calculated for the teacher groups. The results, presented in Table 8.6, show a tendency for younger teachers to be more concerned about the relevance, but age does not interact as strongly on this measure as it interacted with perceptions about pupil participation. Only two groups show a strong relation between age and perception of relevance: the British trained group has a correlation coefficient of -.27 and the Asians have a correlation coefficient of -.32. The other groups show only minimal relationships. Thus, the African teachers in the schools do not seem to be as concerned about the problem of relevance even when they are younger.

The picture which emerges from this scale suggests that the majority of the teachers now in the schools do not see the educational system as being particularly lacking in relevance for Uganda today. The author's impression is that most of them would support limited reforms in specific aspects of the syllabus or the examinations and would agree that a number of glaring inconsistencies still remain in the content of

TABLE 8.6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AND SCALES ON RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION AND PUPIL PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL

Group[a]	Age with Relevance of Education	Age with Pupil Participation
British Trained	-.26	-.14
British TEA/Volunteer	-.07	-.22
Peace Corps	+.02	+.05
Missionaries	+.14	-.28
Asians	-.32	-.20
Africans	-.03	-.33
Kyambogo	+.03	-.04

[a] The British Local and Makerere groups have been omitted because of their small size.

some subjects. The comments appended to the question about the syllabus of the subjects which "I teach" indicate that many of these teachers feel that adequate revisions of the syllabus are already under way. Several comments suggest that revisions are necessary to update the subject matter in all countries and not just for Uganda.

Comments made on the question of the English tradition show a concern on the part of some of these teachers about the overly academic nature of the education. A number of them make suggestions that other types of schools should be opened to emphasize industrial and agricultural training. It is, perhaps, significant that none of these comments suggest such activities would be appropriate within the framework of the academic schools.

Pupil Participation, Selection of Pupil Leaders, and Relevance of Education

To summarize the results presented in this chapter, Figure 8.2 presents a profile of the positions of the teacher groups on the three dimensions.[27] The position of a particular group is indicated by a '+' next to the two-letter code identifying the group. The numerical value of the mean score for any group can be read off the scale on the left of the chart.

The figure shows a considerable degree of similarity between those who are concerned about patterns of pupil participation and pupil selection, and those who are concerned about the more general question of the relevance of the type of education being offered. The cluster of groups showing the highest degree of dissatisfaction contains the two African student groups and the Peace Corps for all three dimensions. The Missionaries fall at the bottom of all the dimensions and the remainder of the groups fall in a middle cluster. One exception occurs on the dimension of educational relevance where the British Volunteer group lies in the upper cluster. The relationships among these three dimensions are reflected in their correlation coefficients. The strongest relationship is between pupil participation and relevance of

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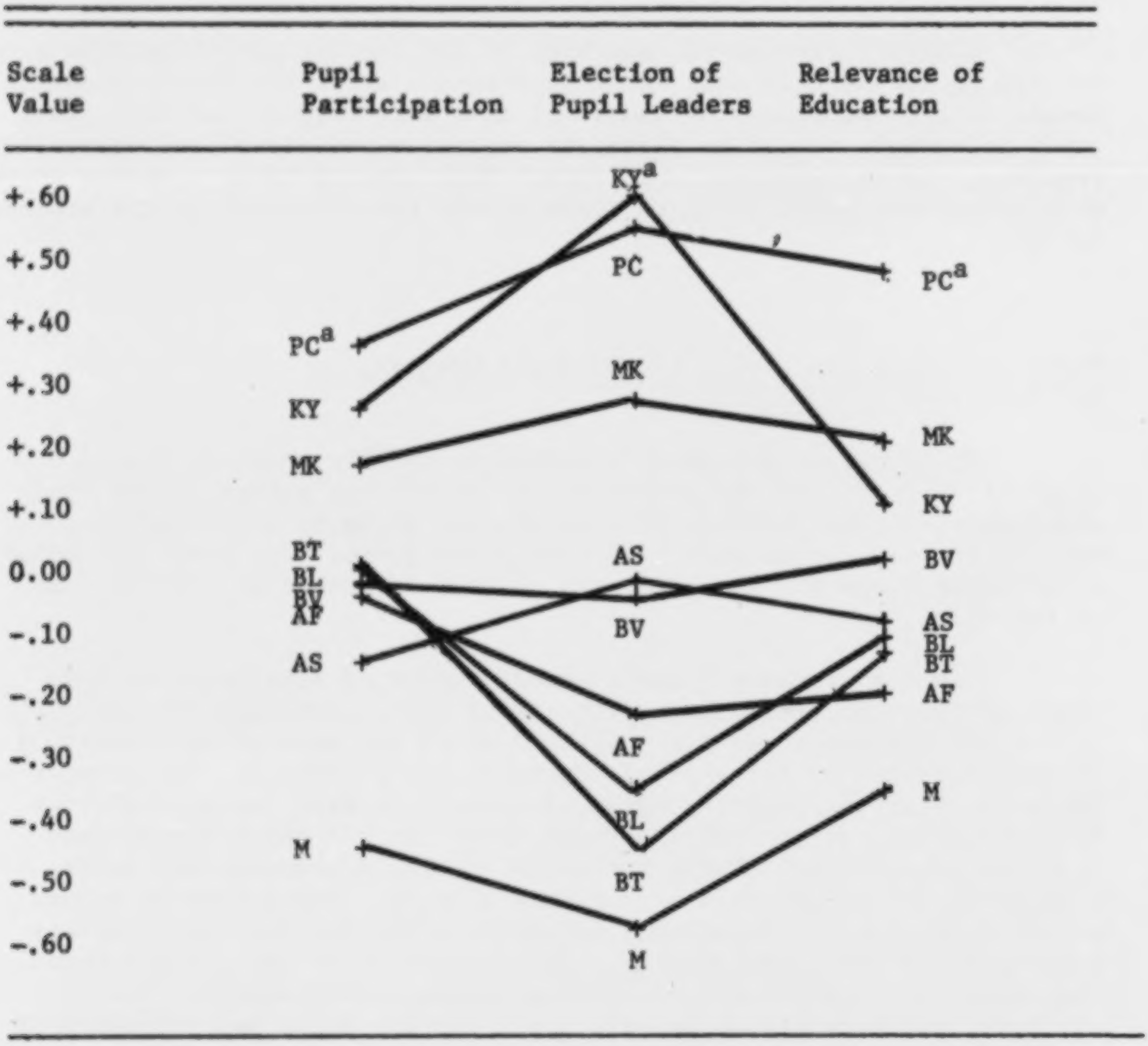
[27] The dimension on selection of pupil leaders is represented by the scale score originally computed on the basis of Factor XIII. The order and spacing of the groups on that scale closely resembles the pattern of responses on the two questions discussed in the chapter. The scale is based on these two questions and one other dealing with teachers' feelings about the desirability of a strong central government. The scale has a low internal reliability and is presented only for the purposes of comparative ranking of the groups.



[a] Key: KY = Kyambogo; AF = African; MK = Makerere; AS = Asian; M= Missionaries; PC = Peace Corps; BV = British TEA/Vol; BT = British Trained; BL = British Local

FIGURE 8.2 COMPARATIVE RANKING OF TEACHER GROUPS ON THREE SCALES

education, with a coefficient of .38. The scale relating to selection of pupil leaders correlates about equally with the other two, both having a coefficient of about .25.

One of the more significant interpretations of these results may lie in their implications for the innovative behavior of the teachers. The relative positions of the groups might be taken as indicators of the probability that members of a given group would be likely to support attempts to make the educational system more relevant to the needs of Uganda. One could argue that the three highest groups would be most likely to contain individuals whose level of dissatisfaction was high enough to stimulate them into attempting to instigate changes. In contrast, the middle level groups would be less likely to instigate changes. As a guess, the author would estimate that maybe half of the middle groups would be likely to support changes which they perceived as moving the system in the direction of greater relevance. The lowest level group, the Missionaries, would be the group most likely to oppose changes.

These predictions are, of course, intended to apply to the group as a whole and not to any specific individual within a group. To predict which teachers are going to be innovators would require more detailed information about personalities and behavior tendencies of the individuals. Some information about actual innovative behavior of the teachers in the schools will be presented in a later chapter. At that time, some investigation of the relationship between the indicators of dissatisfaction and those of innovative actions will be attempted.

The over-all pattern of results in this chapter indicate significant differences in the level of satisfaction of different teacher groups with the internal organization of the school community and with the relevance of the educational content for the pupils. Reasons have been suggested why the Peace Corps and the two African student groups consistently rank highest on levels of concern about the current situation. The varied ranking of the British Volunteers was noted, and their concern about the relevance of education was contrasted with their much lower level of concern about the participation of pupils in the school.

Except for the Peace Corps, the great bulk of the teachers now teaching in the schools indicated a lower level of concern on all three dimensions. In a more absolute sense, their level of concern could be described generally as mild dissatisfaction with a number of limited aspects of the system. Coupled with this dissatisfaction is a feeling on the part of many that steps are being taken to modify the system and that, in general, these efforts are adequate. Surprisingly enough, both the African and Asian teachers tend to share these feelings with the expatriates. Only in the single item dealing with the need for revision of the teachers' own syllabus were the African and Asian teachers grouped with the students, indicating a high level of dissatisfaction.

A definite relationship between the age of the teacher and his position on these dimensions was noted. Younger teachers are more likely to be dissatisfied, particularly on the dimension relating to the degree of pupil participation in the school. The relatively high average age of the missionaries may account partially for their consistently low level of concern with the dimensions discussed in this chapter. Finally, it was suggested that the level of dissatisfaction of a group of teachers may have implications for the receptivity of that group to innovations aimed at increasing pupil participation or making the content of the syllabus more relevant to Uganda.

CHAPTER IX

THE TEACHER, THE COMMUNITY AND THE SOCIETY

In this chapter the focus will move from the study of the teacher and the school as an agent of national political socialization to a consideration of the teacher and the school as an agent of cultural and community socialization. Measures will be discussed which probe the teachers' awareness of the social and cultural environment of their pupils, reflect the teachers' attitudes toward traditional values and customs, indicate the teachers' feelings about school-community relations, and report on the amount of contact between the teacher and the pupils' families. These measures share a common concern with the relationship between the teacher and the social environment and are assumed to have implications for the attitudes toward that environment which the school makes available to the pupils.

In the previous chapter it was noted that a number of observers were concerned about the relevance of the current educational system. The problems of relevance are deepened by the fact that the great majority of the teachers come from non-African cultures, and that, in the words of the Castle commission on education in Uganda, "the syllabuses are too often rooted in an alien tradition not always relevant to the needs of Ugandan children."[1] A further problem of adaptation occurs because the structure of secondary education in Uganda derives primarily from the tradition of Public School education in England. These factors would appear to constitute a serious impediment to the achievement of some of the goals clearly set out by the leaders of the new nations for the relationships between the school and the community.

Of the three factors, the most important in determining the impact of the school on the pupils is the teachers. It is the teachers who set the attitudinal norms of the school and regulate the pattern of activities between the school and the community. Both African and expatriate writers stress the importance of training teachers to be aware of and sympathetic toward the values and traditions of the community. Simeon Ominde, chairman of the Kenya Education Commission, expressed the opinion that "the teacher must be brought into contact with the varied cultures of the community." He also feels strongly that "African culture is an object to be cultivated in the teacher just as much as knowledge of the basic subjects which he now teaches."[2] Margaret Read, discussing the training of expatriate teachers to work in tropical areas, likewise indicates the need for teachers to understand the social, political, and economic organization of the societies in which they are going to work.[3]

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[1] E. B. Castle (chmn.), Education in Uganda, The Report of the Uganda Education Commission (Entebbe, Uganda: The Government Printer, 1963), p. 26.

In fact, such statements of goals are a part of virtually every document pertaining to the role of teachers in Africa. They can be traced back to periods well before the era of national independence movements. A good example is provided by the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies which sat in 1948. Their document on "Education for Citizenship in Africa" emphasizes the need for citizenship education to take "account of the social customs and institutions of native society and to build on traditional institutions and units."[4] Yet, despite this consensus on the importance of such training and understanding, the situation in the schools does not indicate that much progress has been made toward achieving these goals.

In the sections which follow, information about the teachers will be presented in the hopes of establishing a baseline against which progress toward the goals of school-community relationships can be evaluated. In addition to reflecting the current situation, the data should also provide the basis for projecting expectations into the near future. The first dimension to be discussed is an indicator of the teachers' awareness of the surrounding society.

The Teachers' Awareness of the Social and Cultural Environment

Given the fact that the majority of the teachers are from different cultures and are serving on a short term basis, a primary concern must be the amount of information which these teachers have about the society in which they are teaching. An inspection of the eight items which load on Factor XV with weights of .3 or greater, reveals a communality of content which might be labelled awareness of social and cultural environment. A scale (Scale 6) was constructed from these eight items. Six of the items ask the respondent to assess the level of information which he has about the topic indicated in the question. The teacher responds by selecting a number from a four-point scale which ranges from "very well informed" to "very poorly informed." Three of the six questions ask about aspects of the national society: agriculture in Uganda, the legislative process in Uganda, and the educational system in Uganda. The other three relate to aspects of the local environment in which the teacher's school is located. They ask about the local government in the area, the political structure of the major tribe in the area, and the social and cultural characteristics of that tribe.

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[2] S. H. Ominde, "Education in Revolutionary Africa," East African Journal, II, No. 2 (May, 1965), p. 7.

[3] M. Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas (London: Nelson Publishing Co., 1955), p. 2.

[4] W. Ward (chmn.), "Education for Citizenship in Africa," Advisory Committee on Education, Report of subcommittee on Education for Citizenship in Africa (London: HMSO, 1948), p. 8. See also Ormsby-Gore (chmn.), "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa," Memorandum of Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies (London: HMSO, 1925), pp. 6 ff.

Since these questions are not a measure of teachers' actual knowledge, but rather an indicator of the level of confidence which they feel about their knowledge, the results must be interpreted with some care. As teachers, the respondents have daily contact with the problem of assessing the extent of pupils knowledge and thus may be expected to perform somewhat better than the average person when asked to assess their own knowledge. Some supporting evidence is available in the form of questions dealing with efforts to study and learn about Uganda before coming to the country. Taken together, these questions will be used as somewhat optimistic indicators of the teachers' level of awareness about the society in Uganda.

The other two questions in the scale relate to behavior and help to counter the bias which may be present in the other questions. One question is a cumulative score which is based on the number of vernacular languages which a person can speak and his level of proficiency in each. For each language the respondent is given a score of from one to three as his ability varies from "several dozen common words like greetings, etc.," to "easy fluency in a wide variety of situations, and ability to use abstract ideas in discussion." Vernacular, in this case, means any local language and also includes Swahili which is a regional lingua franca, although it is less popular in Uganda than in the rest of East Africa.[5]

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[5] J. Goldthorpe lists 31 tribes in Uganda, of whom at least 13 have populations of over 100,000. All of them have their own languages, although a number of them are mutually intelligible. Outlines of East African Society (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere College Library, 1959), p. 36. A somewhat better indicator may be provided by the fact that Radio Uganda broadcasts in six vernacular languages, in addition to English, Swahili, and Asian languages.

The final question asks teachers how many Africans they know well enough to have some feeling for them as individuals, excluding pupils or servants. (The same question was included in the scale on awareness of national affairs.) Both of these last questions have the effect of increasing the split between the Africans and the expatriates since the Africans would score higher on vernacular languages and knowledge of Africans than virtually all of the expatriates. Including them, however, also contributes to the differences among the expatriates in what may be important ways. A teacher who knows few Africans and has little or no understanding of even the simplest aspects of a vernacular language can hardly be expected to be aware of the environment.

The scale based on these items is presented for the various teacher groups in Table 9.1. The pattern is almost identical with the pattern produced by the scale on awareness of national affairs (Scale 2), indicating that the kinds of people likely to be aware of national political affairs are also those likely to take an interest in the structure of the society around them. (This does not mean that the two scales would select out the same teachers within a given group of teachers, but only that, on the average, the groups behave in similar ways on the two dimensions.) As must be true if the scales are to have any validity, the Africans rate high in comparison to the expatriates who are grouped closely together at the bottom.

Strong support for the rankings of the means was found when the author studied the histograms for the groups on this scale. A line was drawn across the distributions at +.6 which split the groups into two parts. Taking all the expatriate teachers together, less than 5% were above this line, while doing the same for the Africans showed that over 50% of them were above that value. The main differences among the expatriate groups lay in the numbers of teachers who were to be found at the very low end of the scale.

The Missionaries and the Asians again fall in a middle position reflecting their significant differences from the other two sets of groups. Although the Asians are mostly long term residents, and are urban dwellers with access to information about the society, their general level of awareness is significantly below that of the Africans. With the exception of two questions, their ranking on the questions contained in the scale is similar to their over-all scale ranking. On one question dealing with the legislative process they rank second, a position which reflects their higher ranking on the national awareness scale. The second question on which they differ relates to cultural knowledge of the tribe in the area of the school. On this question they rank ninth, a position which foreshadows their attitudes toward traditional cultures.

The Missionaries are in a similarly anomalous position. Although they are expatriates, they rank at the bottom of the African cluster or at the top of the expatriate cluster on all the questions contained in

TABLE 9.1

SCALE 6

AWARENESS OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.33	.64	127	7
British TEA/Vol	-.36	.61	38	9
British Local	-.35	.67	23	8
Peace Corps	-.32	.63	40	6
Missionaries	+.07	.52	28	4
Asians	-.03	.47	42	5
Africans	+.58	.52	57	2
Makerere	+.39	.51	21	3
Kyambogo	+.65	.42	72	1

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
9.55	0.33	28.93	.001

Critical differences[a] by differences in rank. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .259   C.D. (5) = .366   C.D. (9) = .419

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[a] The procedure for using the critical differences in comparisons between pairs of means is described in the footnote to Table 7.1.

the scale. An important factor in their greater level of awareness is probably the fact that they have the greatest amount of teaching experience in Uganda of any of the groups, including the Africans. In addition, the nature of their task involves contact with the community and the society in ways which most other teachers do not participate. Their position on this scale will receive strong support when the scale relating to contact with the pupils' homes and families is discussed.

The differences among the expatriate groups does not have much significance either statistically or in terms of the trends apparent from the results on individual questions. The only possible exception occurs with the ranking of the Peace Corps on the question dealing with total language capability. For that question, the Peace Corps ranks fourth, ahead of the Asians and all the other expatriates. This position probably reflects two things: the fairly extensive language training that Peace Corps volunteers receive which is much more than that given to any of the other expatriate groups, and the effect of training which makes the volunteers aware of the high value which the Peace Corps administration places on language ability. The latter factor may have resulted in some inflation of capabilities, although probably not enough to completely explain the high ranking of the group.

In looking at the items which make up this scale, one further comment can be made about them. With the exception of the language question, they are all of parallel construction. Thus, comparison of over-all means for the entire sample is instructive in revealing relative areas of strength and weakness in the teachers' knowledge. The highest level is found on the question dealing with the educational system where the over-all mean response lies between "well informed" and "very well informed." This is the expected result for people who are all teachers and thus lends support to the assumption that the teachers are rating their levels of knowledge in a realistic manner.

On three other questions the average level of knowledge is rated as just below "well informed." These questions deal with agriculture in Uganda, the social and cultural structure of the tribe in the area of the school, and the industrial development of the country. At the lowest level are four questions which are rated just above "poorly informed." These questions are concerned with the constitution, the legislative process, the local government, and the political structure of the local tribe.[6]

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[6] The questions on the constitution and industrial development are not in the scale but are included because of their similarity in intent and format. An interesting result of the question on the constitution is the high ranking of the Asians. They are first, and significantly higher than the other groups. Their knowledge probably grows out

The pattern which emerges suggests that teachers are most confident of their knowledge about the cultural and social aspects of the nation, but less well informed about a number of aspects of the political system of the nation. The latter includes not only the national system but also the local government and the political organization of the tribes. The relatively low level of confidence which the teachers exhibit about their knowledge of such basic characteristics of the political system as the constitution and the legislative process can be expected to place definite limitations on their effectiveness as agents of political socialization. If at some point the government makes a conscious decision to promote an understanding of national political processes, then clearly efforts will have to be devoted to training the teachers before they can be expected to have much influence on the pupils.

Finally, to complete the discussion of this scale it is necessary to look at the effect which variables like the amount of time spent teaching in Uganda have on the teachers' awareness of the society. As in the case of awareness of national affairs, one expects, and indeed finds, a strong relationship between these two variables. The information is presented in Table 9.2 in the form of correlation coefficients for each teacher group.

The correlation coefficients indicate a strong relationship; those teachers who have spent a longer time teaching in Uganda are more likely to have a high level of awareness. By combining this information with the mean scores one notes that, with the exception of the missionaries, all the expatriates begin at about the same level of awareness and tend to increase at approximately the same rate as their period of service increases. In contrast, the Asians and the Africans show little or no change as a function of time spent teaching. For them, awareness derives from growing up in the country, while for most of the expatriates awareness is a product of time spent in the country.

Table 9.2 also includes some information on the correlations between awareness and the amount of studying which a teacher was able to do before coming to the country. Teachers were asked to indicate how much studying and reading about Uganda and East Africa they were able to do, outside of formal training or orientation, before they came to the country. The question is phrased to exclude training in order to measure the amount of initiative which the person took beyond what was required. The mild positive correlations indicate that those who undertook to learn about the country before they arrived show a tendency to be more aware after they arrive. The results for Peace Corps teachers

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of their direct personal interest in the provision which the new constitution made for citizenship and the controversy which surrounded the subsequent amendment of that section.

TABLE 9.2

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AWARENESS OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Group [a]	Awareness by Years Teaching in Uganda	Awareness by Studying Before Arrival
British Trained	.56	.26
British TEA/Vol	.62	.07
British Local	.39	.67
Peace Corps	.46	.43
Missionaries	.62	.37
Asians	.10	--
Africans	.00	--

[a] The two student groups are not included because the independent variables do not apply to them.

indicate a differential effect caused by efforts beyond those required for their extensive training program. The lack of a similar effect among the British Volunteers may be ascribed to the fact that nearly half the group were recruited under the Teachers for East Africa scheme and knew that they would be spending nine months studying at Makerere.

To round out the understanding of the various components which make up the teachers' awareness of the national society, the results of two other questions will be mentioned. Teachers were presented with a list of the major tribal/geographical areas of Uganda and were asked to indicate two things: the areas which they had had a chance to visit, and the areas which they had studied, i.e., "know something about local history, customs, or society." The results for the latter half of the question are essentially the same as the over-all pattern presented by the scale. The three African groups are clustered together with an average of three areas of which they have some knowledge. In the middle there is a somewhat dispersed cluster consisting of all the remaining groups except the British local teachers. The middle cluster has, on the average, made some study of about two and one-half areas. The only notable ranking is that of the British Volunteers who are at the top of this cluster, somewhat above the Missionaries. As noted in the previous paragraph, about half the group has spent a year at Makerere, where they were exposed to some study of Uganda.

The first half of the question is notable for an almost complete reversal of the pattern exhibited in the second half. The two student groups and the Asians fall at the very bottom with an average of a bit less than five areas of the country visited. The middle cluster consists of the Missionaries, the Peace Corps, and the Africans, at about five and one-half areas visited.[7] The two larger British groups are a little above six areas, and the British Local rank very high, at over seven areas visited. The striking thing is the African's relative lack of mobility. It is only the experienced African teacher who has done much traveling and even then, on the average, that is less than expatriates of comparable years of service. There are a number of reasons for this disparity, but the importance lies in the extent to which it limits the ability of the African teachers to promote a greater awareness of the societies and cultures of the country.

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[7] The results of this question are, of course, strongly dependent on the amount of time which a person has spent in the country. In particular, the Peace Corps has spent an average time of only .9 of a year in the country compared to averages two years and more for the other groups. Adjusting for this variable would probably significantly alter the ranking of the Peace Corps and, to a lesser extent, that of the British Volunteers. F. B. Nelson discusses the high value placed on mobility by Americans and its effects on their behavior as teachers. "American Values and the Role of School Master in East Africa," Proceedings of the East African Institute of Social Research Conference, January, 1964 (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1964), Part B, p. 1.

Thus, in terms of exposure to Uganda, the expatriate would seem to have something of an advantage over his African colleague. However, his level of understanding and knowledge about what he has seen is generally less. The Asians exhibit a level of knowledge which, in general, falls between the Africans and the expatriates, but their travel experience is the lowest of all the groups, especially if some controls are established for length of time spent in the country. The Missionaries maintain a middle position on both of these dimensions, similar to their position on the over-all scale of awareness.

While studying and visiting different social and cultural areas are important aspects of a teacher's potential ability to influence pupils, perhaps the most important aspect is the attitude which the teacher has about the characteristics of the societies which live there. In the following section a scale will be presented which is designed to probe the teachers' feelings about the values and traditions of African societies.

Image of Traditional Cultures

The new nations of Africa seek to build a national culture compounded of the old and the new. They want students to learn about the traditional way of life and to be proud of their heritage which is derived from a diversity of tribal traditions. To achieve these goals in the schools, both theory and common sense suggest that the teacher must share these attitudes if he is to foster them in his pupils. Too often in the past the effect of schooling has been a negative one, leading the pupil to reject the traditions of his people and to feel inferior to Europeans because of his background. An extensive study of the effects of interaction between European teachers and African pupils carried out by Jahoda indicates the ease with which, "attitudes of inferiority are passed on [to the pupils] by teachers, even African ones who have been trained by Europeans."[8]

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[8] G. Jahoda, White Man: A Study of the Attitudes of Africans toward Europeans in Ghana during Independence (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 100. See also the discussion of secondary schools in Nigeria by Hawkes. He feels that the schools seem to demand that the pupil scorn traditional dress, methods, and values. N. Hawkes, "Cultural Transition in a Nigerian Secondary School," New Era in Home and School, XLVI, No. 10 (December, 1965), pp. 234-237.

Theoretical discussions of the role of teachers in promoting relations between groups and developing understanding of different cultures stress the need for sympathetic understanding on the part of the teachers. Hilda Taba, discussing the problems of training teachers for promoting intergroup relations, points out the difficulties caused by the ethnocentrism of the teachers. She finds that it is a challenging task to get teachers to accept other ideas of what is right and wrong.[9] More recent reports on the problem of teaching mutual appreciation of cultural values emphasizes the importance of teacher attitudes. The general consensus seems to be that the teaching of attitudes is done mainly be indirect and often unconscious processes. The net result is usually the transmission of the teacher's genuine feelings in conjunction with the overt content of the message.[10]

African writers are equally concerned with this aspect of education and express doubts about the role of the European in such a context. Joseph Kizerbo feels that education must be "invested with its role of galvanizer of African values," even if this causes a decline in standards as measured by some absolute yardstick.[11] Wadajo shares this concern by indicating the need for the "schools to be permeated with the ethos of the country," which can be done only if "the teachers' minds are themselves full of this ethos."[12] The report of the Kenya Education Commission takes explicit notice of the expatriates and sets some goals for their behavior.

> We do not think that it is unreasonable to ask our friends, the foreign teachers, to remember the critically important

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[9] H. Taba et al., Intergroup Education in Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1952), p. 294. See also L. A. Cook, Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education (New York: American Council on Education, 1951).

[10] For a discussion of the problem see: Teaching Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values (Washington, D.C.: World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, 1959), p. 7. For a revealing study which presents direct support for the efficacy of the teachers in transmitting attitudes see the work of Jahoda. He demonstrated that education in Ghana acted to transmit British stereotypes of various nationalities. G. Jahoda, "Nationality Preferences and National Stereotypes in Ghana before Independence," Journal of Social Psychology, L (1959), p. 174.

[11] J. Kizerbo, "Education and African Culture," Education Panorama, IV, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), p. 8.

[12] M. Wadajo, "The Content of Teacher Education," Education Panorama, VIII, No. 1 (1966), p. 7.

> role of the secondary schools in building up the national spirit and way of life, and to immerse themselves, as far as they are able, in the life of African Kenya. We would ask recruiting organizations to remember our need of men and women, who have the humility and the sensitivity to do precisely that, and we would add that a readiness to learn Kiswahili would be a decided advantage.[13]

An important facet of a teacher's view of African life is his feelings about the traditional customs which are embodied in the fabric of African society. A scale was constructed from questions which probed the teachers' attitudes toward four customs common to most African societies: polygamy, bride price, initiation ceremonies, and the extended family system. For each question the respondent was given a choice of five answers ranging from a strongly negative one expressing moral indignation about the custom, to a neutral one indicating that there are many ways of doing things, to a positive one suggesting that the custom had desirable features and should be preserved.[14] All four of these questions were loaded with weights of 0.5 or more on Factor IV in the factor analysis. No other items were loaded on this factor.

In each case a simple definition of the custom was presented at the beginning of the questions so that every respondent would have a common referent when answering. The position of a respondent is intended to be judged primarily according to its degree of favorability rather than on the content of the particular alternative offered. A scale composed of the weighted sum of the responses on all four questions was constructed and the results are set forth in Table 9.3 (Scale 7). The higher scores represent the more favorable attitudes toward the customs.

The pattern of ranks on this scale contains some interesting differences from the patterns evident on previous scales. There are three clusters: the highest one containing the Peace Corps and the Makerere students; the middle one consisting of the British Volunteers, the Africans, the British Trained Teachers, and the Kyambogo students in that order; and the lowest cluster consisting of the British Local teachers and the Missionaries. The last cluster is followed, after a nearly significant gap, by the Asians who rank lowest of all on the scale.

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[13] S. H. Ominde (chmn.), Kenya Education Commission Report: Part I (Nairobi, Kenya: Government Printer, 1964), p. 80.

[14] The actual text of the questions on this and all the scales are presented in Appendix C.2 so that the reader can evaluate the interpretation for himself if he so desires.

TABLE 9.3

SCALE 7

IMAGE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	.00	.58	105	5
British TEA/Vol	+.19	.41	32	3
British Local	-.21	.44	19	7
Peace Corps	+.36	.48	37	2
Missionaries	-.28	.61	25	8
Asians	-.54	.61	37	9
Africans	+.11	.75	50	4
Makerere	+.43	.60	21	1
Kyambogo	-.05	.69	73	6

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
2.76	0.36	7.71	.001

Critical differences by size of rank difference. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .285 C.D. (5) = .402 C.D. (9) = .461

The positions of two of the groups seem to be particularly interesting. The Kyambogo students, who have generally been quite high on the scales, are placed at the bottom of the middle cluster below the African teachers and most of the expatriates. The Asian group is also of interest, being ranked ninth, significantly below every other group of teachers.

The difference between the Kyambogo students and the Makerere students on this scale may be an example of the typology of personal values which Jahoda outlines in his study of the effect of education on Africans. He outlines three types: 1) the uneducated African who accepts fully the tribal value system and is not threatened by European culture; 2) the African with a medium level of education whose value system is divided between the tribal and the Western system and as a result feels ambivalent and insecure about his traditional values; and 3) the highly educated African who has achieved autonomy from the white man's values and is able to create an integrated value system composed of parts from both sources.[15] The Kyambogo students would tend to be of type two, while the Makerere students would most likely be of the third type. The differences between the distributions of the scale scores for the two groups is highlighted by the fact that the distributions can be split in such a way that only 15% of the Makerere group fall below the dividing score while more than 55% of the Kyambogo group falls below that value.

Although the Kyambogo group has a fair amount of education, their upward progress has been sidetracked by their failure to get into sixth form or into university. Their chances of making the highest levels in the society seem to be in jeopardy and thus they would tend to feel uncertain about themselves. Traditional customs or values might well be viewed as a threat to their already faltering progress through an education system which is firmly based on Western values. In contrast, the students at Makerere tend to regard themselves as members of the elite, by virtue of being admitted to University, and would be more ready to support the resurgence of interest in traditional customs and values. Having succeeded on Western terms they can afford the risk of challenging some of its tenets.

The similarity between the African teachers and the British Trained groups also lends support to a hypothesis of Jahoda's. He feels that African teachers come to accept the stereotypes held by expatriates as a result of having themselves been educated by expatriates. From the school experience pupils internalize a set of "rather old-fashioned, British, middle class values which are directly at variance with some of the African values."[16] Somewhat surprisingly, there is little relationship between age or years teaching in Uganda and attitudes toward traditional customs for either of these two teacher groups (see Table 9.4). This would seem to suggest that even those teachers, both African and British, who received their education in recent years have not acquired a more favorable stance toward the integrity of traditional values.

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[15] G. Jahoda, White Man, op. cit., pp. 113-119.

[16] Ibid., p. 119.

The very low position of the Asians is in direct contrast to their medium to high ranking on the other scales. It reflects the strong ethnocentric tendencies of the Asian community, and, indeed, even the subcommunities within it.[17] The clannish, inward-looking behavior is one of the most criticized aspects of the Asians and is one which they themselves recognize as a handicap to their acceptance in East Africa.[18] Their very critical response to traditional African customs is an indicator of the strength of their attachment to the values and customs of their own communities. It also reflects what is often a genuine ignorance about the social and cultural organization of African society. An Asian writer recently noted that "... despite the fact that most of us have lived here for years, there are very few who know much of what constitutes good social behavior or good manners in African society."[19]

Also scoring quite low are the Missionaries and the British Local teachers. The position of the Missionaries reflects, in part at least, the fact that some of these customs are directly contrary to the teaching of the church. They score very low on polygamy, as one would expect, and also are very low on the extended family. While there is nothing directly contravening the teachings of the church in this latter tradition, the alternatives presented stress the handicap which it places on individuals trying to get ahead by hard work. The author would guess that hard work is a characteristic which the missionaries value highly and hence have strong feelings about. Their responses to the questions on bride price and initiation ceremonies are more moderate, falling about the middle of the distribution of groups.

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[17] For a study of intergroup attitudes in East Africa using the Bogardus approach see: P. Fordham, "Out-groups in East African Society," in Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1966), pp. 84-94. He notes the very high antipathy toward the Asians expressed by the Africans, and also notes the differentiation within the Asian community.

[18] D. P. Ghai presents a thorough and often critical analysis of Asian response to the East African environment. See D. P. Ghai, "A Social Survey," in D. P. Ghai (ed.), Portrait of a Minority: Asians in East Africa (Nairobi, Kenya: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 13-65.

[19] Mrs. S. Mustafa, "Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa," in Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa, op. cit., p. 56.

The pattern for the British Local group, composed almost entirely of wives on temporary terms, is the reverse of the Missionaries' pattern; the wives score quite low on bride price and initiation ceremonies, and only moderately low on polygamy and extended family. Other than repeating the statement that women are generally the bearers of a culture, and hence tend to take more conservative positions when faced with alternative values, the author has no inclination as to why they should be lower than the other expatriates. One might also note that their position is almost always below that of the British Trained group, the group one would expect to be most similar to the British Local teachers.

Finally, a comment about the two volunteer groups. The very high score of the Peace Corps is consistent with their positions on other scales involving affective perceptions of the Africans. The author would ascribe this to the youthful ideals of the group combined with an intensive training program which consciously strives to produce positive attitudes toward the societies in which they will be working. A similar, but more restrained, effect is evident for the British Volunteers. The difference may be due in large part to the short and relatively low key training program which they receive. The British TEA do get extended training at Makerere, but the program is notable for its lack of emphasis on the social and cultural aspects of the traditional societies.

The author had hypothesized that a relationship might exist between age and years teaching in Uganda and the teachers image of traditional cultures. The correlation coefficients between these two variables and the scale were computed for each group. The results presented in Table 9.4 show only a mild relationship between age and attitude toward the culture. The one exception is the group of British Local teachers who show a strong negative correlation between age and attitude toward traditional customs. The Asians have a mild positive correlation, indicating that the younger Asians tend to be more negative than the older ones. This does not seem to be an encouraging sign for progress in understanding between the two groups. As noted above, the African teachers show essentially no relationship over age or teaching experience, indicating that their attitudes are pretty well fixed when they enter the teaching profession.

To conclude this section, a few comments will be made about the pattern of responses by the Africans and the expatriates on the individual questions which make up this scale. Considering all three African groups together, a very definite difference emerges in their preference for the customs indicated in the four questions. Polygamy and the extended family are rated as less desirable than bride price and initiation ceremonies. The difference is quite large, amounting to almost one scale division between the means on the different questions. The pattern of ranking among the African groups discussed above is remarkably consistent with each of the four questions being identical in rank and nearly identical in size of the intervening gaps. The relatively unfavorable response by

TABLE 9.4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN IMAGE OF CULTURES AND BACKGROUND VARIABLES

Group	Image by Age of Teacher	Image by Years Teaching in Uganda
British Trained	-.10	-.11
British TEA/Vol	-.18	-.36
British Local	-.67	-.07
Peace Corps	+.06	+.03
Missionaries	+.03	-.08
Asians	+.23	+.16
Africans	-.05	-.04
Makerere	-.06	---
Kyambogo	+.15	---

the Africans to polygamy may well derive from the teachings of the church. Most of the primary schools in the country were run by churches until very recently so that the majority of the Africans in the sample would have received their first education in a school with a strong religious base. When coupled with the very negative response of the Missionaries to polygamy this seems quite plausible. The lower rating of the extended family by the Africans is less understandable, but also parallels the rating given by the Missionaries.

The rating of the various customs by the expatriates is quite different from the rating by the Africans. Expatriates rate polygamy most favorably, followed closely by bride price and initiation ceremonies. The mean for the expatriate groups is significantly above the mean for the Africans on the polygamy question, but is below the African groups' means on both bride price and initiation ceremony. Only for the extended family question do the Africans and the expatriates overlap significantly; where on the average, both sets of groups express a neutral point of view. In general, the potential effect of expatriate teachers on pupils' feelings about traditional customs would appear to be quite different from the potential effect of the African teachers.

To supplement the information on teachers' attitudes toward traditional customs two other scales will be discussed. These scales attempt to measure the degree to which the teachers have contact with the community and with the family backgrounds of their pupils. They are intended to provide some behavioral data for the description of the interaction between teacher and society.

Home Background of the Pupils

It is not enough for teachers to have favorable impressions of traditional customs in a purely abstract way. The expatriates, in particular, need to have some contact with the home and family background of their pupils in order to understand what experiences the pupils bring to the school setting. As Taba puts it, the teachers need to "become acquainted with the children's experiences," and "to understand the realities of the kids' lives" in order to know what the school should cover.[20] Read points out that teachers must know how traditional cultures bring up their children in order to understand how the pupils will react to Western methods of education.[21] Teachers' reactions to pupil behavior in the school might frequently be different if they had a better understanding of the causes of the behavior.

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[20] Taba, op. cit., p. 235.

[21] Read, op. cit., p. 43.

The five items which load highly on Factor I all relate to various aspects of the teachers' contact with the pupils' background and environment. These items were combined into a scale (Scale 8). Three of the items relate to the teachers' contact behavior, and the other two are teachers' self-ratings on their knowledge about pupils' backgrounds. The latter questions are similar in format to the questions on the first scale discussed in this chapter (Scale 6). Teachers were given four choices ranging from "very well informed" to "very poorly informed" to rate their knowledge of 1) "the home and family background of the pupils" and 2) "the feelings and attitudes of the parents of your pupils."

Two of the questions dealing with contact behavior are related directly to the family background of the pupils. One asks, "About how many pupils' parents have you had a chance to meet and talk with?" and the other asks, "About how many pupils' homes have you been able to visit?" The fifth question does not relate directly to the pupils' homes, but, instead, is concerned with the amount of contact which the teachers have with officials of the local government. The rationale for its inclusion in the scale derives initially from its loading on the factor. The loading indicates that teachers who are generally high on contact with families are also high on contact with local officials. In fact, from the author's experience, it is probable that the parents most often seen by the teachers are those who have some responsibility or position in the local community. Sometimes these leaders serve as unofficial representatives of less well educated parents who are reluctant to speak directly with the teachers.

These items share the common theme of contact with the pupils' environment and the scale constructed from them will be taken as an overall indicator of a teacher's contact. The mean scores for eight of the nine groups are displayed in Table 9.5. The Kyambogo group is not scored on this scale because they have not had enough school experience to know how they would act.

The table indicates two very clear clusters of groups. A cluster which is high on contact and contains the Missionaries, the Asians and the Africans. After a large, statistically significant gap there is a lower cluster composed of all the expatriates except the Missionaries. In between the two clusters, but closer to the lower one, is the group of Makerere students. The answers of the Makerere group are based on their experiences during their two terms of practice teaching and, in a few cases, previous teaching experience.

The high position of the Missionaries can be traced to their role in the interaction between the church and the community. Many of them carry responsibilities for activities in the parish and thus meet many parents in the course of their duties. The fact that they rank as high

TABLE 9.5

SCALE 8

CONTACT WITH PUPILS' BACKGROUND BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.15	.73	127	5
British TEA/Vol	-.24	.60	38	7
British Local	-.29	.62	23	8
Peace Corps	-.18	.57	40	6
Missionaries	+.53	.89	31	1
Asians	+.50	.57	44	2
Africans	+.40	.74	56	3
Makerere	+.02	.74	17	4

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
4.50	0.48	9.34	.001

Critical differences by rank differences. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .313　　C.D. (5) = .442　　C.D. (9) = .507

as the African teachers is, therefore, quite possible. The high ranking of the Asians, however, probably needs to be qualified by asking whether their contact is mainly with African or with Asian homes. Unfortunately, this question was not asked. It is quite probable, though, that most of them are Asian families, particularly since the great majority of the Asian teachers in the sample come from two large, urban schools where half the students are Asians.

The low scores of the remaining expatriate groups is an indication of the low level of contact which they have with pupils' homes. When the positions on the individual questions in the scale are examined, the average expatriate says he has been in less than three homes. The average number of parents which the expatriates report having talked to is between three and five. A closer look at the responses reveals that 52% of the expatriates (excluding the Missionaires) have never been in a pupil's home and 33% have never talked to any parents. There are many practical difficulties facing teachers who seek such contacts, including language barriers, non-local residence of many pupils, and the barriers caused by the vast cultural and educational gaps between most of the parents and the teachers.[22] The implications for the level of understanding which the teachers have about their pupils as a result are something less than encouraging.

On a more positive note, though, motivation and effort do seem to make a difference. If one compares the proportions of the expatriate groups who have had no contact, the Peace Corps has 38% with no home visits, while the percentages for the three British groups range from 51% for the trained teachers to 63% for the volunteer group. Added to these proportions is the fact that there is a strong positive correlation between years spent teaching in Uganda and the amount of contact with pupils' families. The Peace Corps have the lowest average experience with only .9 years, compared with the British Volunteers whose average is the lowest of all the British groups at 1.8 years. These results indicate that it is possible for a large proportion of a group to have at least minimal contact with pupils' homes even when their stay in the country is quite short.[23] The efforts of Peace Corps Volunteers in this direction are probably traceable in part to the explicit value placed on such contacts during training and by the local Peace Corps officials.

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[22] One headmaster had devised a creative scheme to actively encourage teachers to make contact with the homes and communities of the pupils. He asked teachers to go out each year to interview prospective pupils and their parents, ostensibly to select those who would be most suitable, but primarily to give his teachers the opportunity to learn about the home and community background of the pupils.

[23] The reader should remember that this discussion is based on averages for the groups. There are a number of individuals with high levels of contact in all the teaching groups. For example, about 20%

Turning to the two questions which ask the teachers to rate their level of knowledge about the pupils' background and the feelings and attitudes of the parents, an interesting difference occurs. Taking all the teachers together, their confidence in their knowledge of pupils' backgrounds is quite a bit higher than their confidence about their perceptions of the parents attitudes. The difference is striking for the expatriates and reflects the contact data just discussed. For the Africans, Asians, and Missionaries, there is also a notable difference in confidence. This suggests that all the teachers feel some degree of isolation from the community and from the thoughts of the parents. Some of the reasons behind this separation will be discussed in the next section.

The School and the Community

There has been a continuing debate about the role of the school in a community and the concepts the schools should be teaching. P. W. Musgrave, an English sociologist, compares what he feels are the dominant trends on this question in England and in America as follows: In the United States the school tries to adapt the child to the community's idea as to what is right and good. In England the school tends to derive its ideas and values from a higher strata of society and to impose these on the students. The school sets up its own system and undertakes to protect the students from deviant outside pressures arising from the surrounding community.[24] The differences between these two approaches are reflected in the British and American teachers' opinions about the system in Uganda.

The secondary schools of Uganda and East Africa derive their structure and traditions primarily from the British tradition. If anything, the much greater differences in Uganda between the culture of the

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of the British Trained group indicate that they have been in anywhere from four to many pupils' homes.

[24] P. W. Musgrave, The Sociology of Education (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1965), pp. 226-227. These generalizations are, of course, oversimplified, but they do represent important themes in the two countries and do reflect historical traditions which continue to have influence today.

school and that of the surrounding community serve to heighten the separatist aspects of the school. Onyango, describing the schools of Uganda, reports that the schools actively discourage contact with the outside and that teachers sometimes see their task as "a crusade against the pupils' background."[25]

With the coming of independence and the setting of national goals for development, serious questions have been raised about the pattern of ideas and values embodied in a school system which tends to stress differences between the school and community. A clear and incisive analysis of this problem is provided in the writing of Julius Nyerere in Education for Self-Reliance. He describes the problem as follows:

> Equally important is ... the fact that Tanzania's education is such as to divorce its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. This is particularly true of secondary schools, which are inevitably almost entirely boarding schools; ... But the school is always separate; it is not part of society.... The few who go to secondary schools are taken many miles away from their homes; they live in an enclave, having permission to go into the town for recreation, but not relating the work of either town or country to their real life -- which is lived in the school compound.[26]

Other commentators have expressed the same concern about the situation. D. G. Burns, writing about African education, emphasizes the need for the school to build contact with the community, to give pupils opportunities to practice and to participate in community activities.[27] The relative lack of such activities was quite clear from the author's study of school characteristics. Headmasters were asked several questions which concerned the interaction between the school and the community. An example is the question about the frequency with which the school held an open day when parents and the community were invited to visit the school. Nearly half (47%) of the schools indicated that they never had open days, 17% said they had them every couple of years, and only 36% indicated that they held them annually.

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[25] B. Onyango, "A Study of Discipline and Punishment in the Schools of England and Uganda with reference to Character Training" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 1961), p. 251.

[26] J. K. Nyerere, Education of Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Government Printer, 1967), pp. 9-10.

[27] D. G. Burns, African Education (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 82.

It is clear that many sources consider there is a need for greater and more effective contact between the schools and the community. Since it is the teachers who have the most direct influence over such activities, their attitudes and feelings about the current situation are of some importance. To measure their dispositions a scale was constructed from the three items which load on Factor XVI (Scale 9). All three of the questions deal directly with the problem of school-community relations. Because of the dissatisfaction of many observers with the current situation, the items and the scale are scored in such a way that a high score represents a high degree of dissatisfaction with the present pattern of interactions, and a low score indicates that the respondent is generally satisfied with the conditions which exist.

The first question in the scale presents the teachers with the statement: "The school should be part of the community in which it is located, with pupils and local people jointly engaged in self-help schemes and other community projects." The four alternate answers range from "both pupils and parents would rightly object that such things are not part of the job of the secondary school," to "such activities are highly desirable and would have a very beneficial effect on pupils' attitudes." The middle two alternatives stress, in greater or lesser degree, the practical difficulties involved relative to the benefits to be derived from such activities.

The second question asks teachers to indicate their degree of satisfaction with the existing pattern of relationships between their school and the community. The third question presents the teachers with a dichotomous choice between a statement supporting the physical isolation of schools because it "reduces the distracting and often conflicting influences of the community on the pupils," and a statement criticizing the isolation because it "reinforces the tendency toward an education unrelated to the needs of the society." Thus, two of the questions tap specific aspects of school-community interaction, and one of them measures the general level of satisfaction.

The mean scores of the groups are presented in Table 9.6. The over-all pattern shows the Makerere students with a very high score, followed after a large gap by the Peace Corps, the British Volunteers, and the Kyambogo students. Then, after a small gap, there is a cluster containing the British Trained group, the Asians, and the Africans. After another sizeable gap, which almost reaches statistical significance, come the last two groups, the British Local teachers and the Missionaries. The top four groups on this scale are the same groups which indicated a high level of dissatisfaction on the earlier scale measuring the perception of the relevance of education. The two scales have a correlation coefficient of .32 over the entire sample of teachers, indicating that they probably share a common thread of satisfaction-dissatisfaction with the educational system.

TABLE 9.6

SCALE 9

PERCEPTION OF SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Mean Scores	Standard Deviations	Number in Group	Rank of Group on Scale
British Trained	-.03	.72	103	5
British TEA/Vol	+.12	.69	30	3
British Local	-.36	.70	20	3
Peace Corps	+.23	.67	36	2
Missionaries	-.47	.79	26	9
Asians	-.08	.61	42	7
Africans	-.04	.74	59	6
Makerere	+.60	.61	20	1
Kyambogo	+.10	.69	69	4

$MS_{between}$	MS_{within}	F Ratio	Signif. Level
2.10	0.49	4.26	.001

Critical differences by size of rank difference. (.05 level)

C.D. (2) = .317 C.D. (5) = .448 C.D. (9) = .512

The relative positions of the Americans and the British is in keeping with their own experience. The Peace Corps group shows a fair amount of dissatisfaction because the pattern in Uganda differs considerably from the ideals transmitted to them in their own school experience. On the other hand, the school system in Uganda is a familiar one for the British and, for many of them, coincides with what they have been taught is most desirable. As in the earlier scale, the British Volunteers show the highest degree of dissatisfaction among the British groups. The difference between the two volunteer groups can be ascribed mainly to the British Volunteers' familiarity with the system.

The low score of the Missionaries is consistent with their general level of satisfaction with the existing system. For most of them the situation is a familiar one based on their long experience in the country, and they see no great need for changes. The low position of the British Local teachers may be ascribed, in part, to their concern for maintenance of social and moral values. In keeping with their relatively unfavorable view of traditional cultures, they would tend to support efforts to maintain the values and goals of the school culture.

On this scale, though, the bulk of the teachers are grouped closely together at a position which represents only mild dissatisfaction with the system as it exists. The written comments about the question on joint school-community projects reveal that concerns lie primarily with the practical difficulties in promoting greater interaction. The majority of the comments take the form of stating that more participation is theoretically desirable and has their support but, and then a list of the problems involved follows. The difficulties fall into two categories: practical problems like transport, communications, and arrangements for suitable projects; and the corrupting influence of the prevalent customs in the community concerning alcohol and sex.

Having experienced most of these problems in organizing various school activities, the author is well aware of their reality. However, it is encouraging to note that approximately 80% of the schools in the sample have some form of school-community project on at least a sporadic basis. Admittedly, these are small scale, involving not more than a dozen students in most cases, but their existence demonstrates that, with effort, the practical problems can be solved.

The second category of problems reflects a conflict of a more basic nature. It is here that the philosophy that the school is an institution which protects the pupils from the standards of the community becomes most visible. All too frequently the resultant effect is unresolved value conflicts in the pupils as they develop two conflicting standards of behavior; one for school, and one for the community. Notable for its absence in the continued discussion of these problems are suggestions that one learns to cope with the temptations of life by gradual introduction to them in controlled situations, rather than by absolute isolation followed by total submergence in reality.

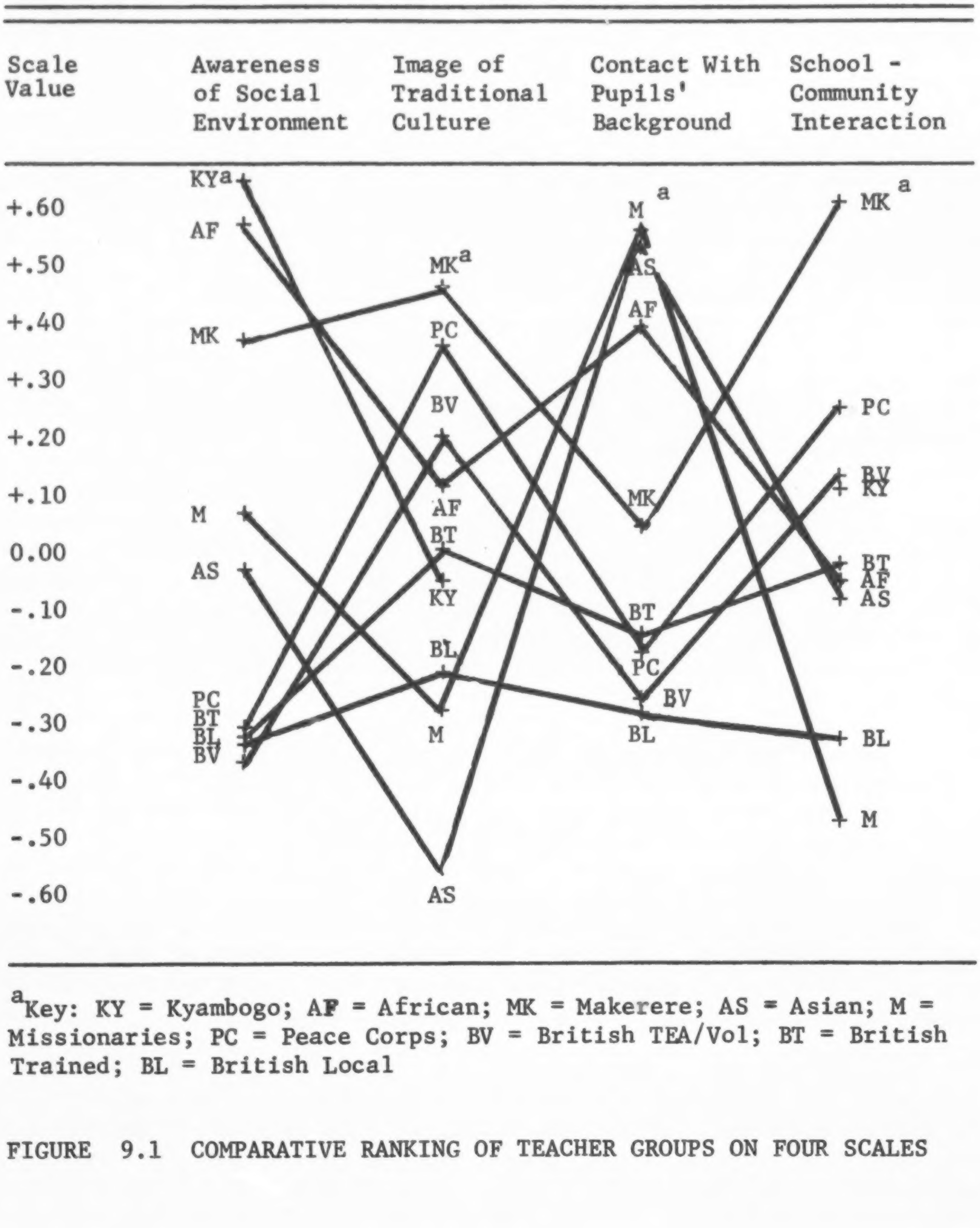
The results of this scale indicate that the great majority of the teachers now in the schools do not feel that the resources of the school are sufficient to deal with a greater level of school-community interaction. Given the scarcity of staff resources required for the academic aspects of school life, there is little staff time remaining to cope with the non-academic aspects involved in community activities. Of course, this allocation of resources derives from the implicit priority decision that the academic aspects of the school are of much greater importance than the other activities. The outlook, barring major policy changes at the national level, is for continued participation at about the current level of activity. Possibly the newer teachers from Kyambogo and Makerere, combined with the volunteers, can gradually increase the amount of interaction, but ultimately this depends on support from the headmasters and the senior members of staff.

The Teacher Interacts with the Society, the Community, and the Pupils' Families

A summary of the four scales discussed in this section is presented in Figure 9.1. The figure allows the reader to compare both the rankings and the size of the intervals between groups for the four scales. Each group is indicated by the two letter code explained at the bottom of the chart. To test the significance of the difference between any pair of groups on a particular scale, the reader must refer to the critical differences given in the table where the scale was originally presented.

The pattern presented by these four scales bears some resemblance to the relations evident in the scales about the teachers' perceptions of the government discussed in Chapter VII. As in that chapter, it would seem to be useful here to make the distinction between affective and cognitive components of the teachers' relations with the social and cultural environment. The two scales which reflect an affective component are the image of the traditional culture and the feelings on school-community interaction. The other two scales, awareness of social environment and contact with pupils' families, are more concerned with the cognitive aspects since they involve knowledge and contact.

Three of the groups exhibit a clear difference between their ranking on the affective scales and their ranking on the cognitive scales. The Makerere students, the Peace Corps, and the British Volunteers rank one, two, and three on the affective scales, and, except for Makerere, much lower on the cognitive scales. These groups show strong positive orientations toward the culture and toward the community, but have less information about and contact with the social environment than do the other groups. The members of these groups are generally younger and have had less teaching experience than the members of the other groups.



[a]Key: KY = Kyambogo; AF = African; MK = Makerere; AS = Asian; M = Missionaries; PC = Peace Corps; BV = British TEA/Vol; BT = British Trained; BL = British Local

FIGURE 9.1 COMPARATIVE RANKING OF TEACHER GROUPS ON FOUR SCALES

Whether the Makerere group will move toward the position of the other groups lower on the scale as they get older and begin teaching, is a matter for conjecture. The volunteer groups are continually being replenished as new ones arrive to replace those who have finished their two years of service, and one can expect these groups to retain fairly similar attitudes.

The potential socialization role of these groups would seem to lie mostly in the area of positive orientations rather than in functioning as a source of specific information about the community, the local government, or the pupils' parents. They would appear to have more tolerance for traditional ways which differ from Western customs and are more likely to be able to lead the pupils toward a feeling of pride in their heritage. Similarly, they are more likely to support greater levels of interaction with the community and to feel that the gains from such activities outweigh whatever risks are involved.

The Makerere group is unique in that it is also relatively high on the cognitive dimensions, ranking third and fourth on them. This group thus seems to have the highest potential for being effective as agents of socialization in these areas. They combine positive orientations with the knowledge and contacts necessary to make effective use of their positive feelings. To what extent they will mobilize this potential when they become teachers remains to be seen, but the potential does seem to exist.

Four of the remaining groups show just the reversal of the above pattern. The African teachers, the Kyambogo students, the Missionaries, and the Asians all rank high on the cognitive dimensions and noticeably lower on the affective scales. These groups contain teachers who generally have fairly long teaching experience and who have been residents of their local communities for some time. As a result these groups have more contact with parents, with local government officials, and with the local society. This greater level of awareness is coupled with affective orientations which, if not negative, are at least much less positive than those of the three groups just discussed. These experienced groups seem more concerned about the preservation of the school culture as separate from that of the community and more devoted to the conservation of Western values and customs embodied in the school routines. While a number of them would express concern over specific aspects of the school, their over-all posture is one of relative satisfaction with things as they stand.

The socialization effects of these groups would presumably be similar to what it has been in the past. They would tend to produce ambivalent feelings in pupils about traditional customs and reinforce pupils' latent feelings of inferiority. At the same time the school experience would tend to reinforce the gap which education produces between the pupils and their parents. The sense of elitism would be reinforced as contacts with the community continue to be limited and the pupils learn life styles which are distant from those of the majority of the community.

The inclusion of the Kyambogo students in this group is somewhat surprising since they do not have long teaching experience and are generally younger. The fact that they have spent their lives in Uganda probably accounts for their higher level of cognitive awareness. But their relatively lower affective orientation is worthy of notice. The author suggested earlier in this chapter that this might be related to their 'arrested' careers, in the sense that they had not reached the highest levels. However, this is a limited explanation and certainly does not seem very appealing in terms of the students' viewpoints about school-community interaction. It would seem that their influence on the schools will probably be supportive of the current situation since their viewpoints are similar to those of the majority of the existing teachers. Contributing to their supportive position will be the effects of their lower status as non-graduates. Initially, they will find themselves in the position of having to prove their worth and will be even less likely, as a consequence, to attempt to change the situation which they find. The author would hypothesize, though, that as they settle in they will become potential recruits for support of innovations undertaken by other members of staff.

The two remaining groups, the British Trained teachers and the British Local teachers, have rankings which are fairly constant across the four dimensions. The trained teachers rank fifth on three scales and seventh on the fourth. Thus, their position is one of general satisfaction with the situation as it exists and of fairly low cognitive awareness of the environment. The British Local teachers are similar, but rank either seventh or eighth on all the scales, showing even less awareness and concern about existing patterns. Both of these groups confront a situation which is similar to what they have experienced at home and which they have been socialized into. Thus, it is natural that the average member of these groups feels generally satisfied with the system and not particularly inclined toward changes in relations with the community or toward changes in the school culture.

The socialization to be expected from these groups is also similar to what has been experienced in the past. In contrast with the Africans and the Asians, this group has less awareness of the outside community and the society in which the school is operating. The result is that their commitment to the current set-up is based primarily on its familiarity. The author would hypothesize that a large part of this group could be moved toward a greater level of concern and a more positive orientation toward traditional society if they were given a form of training which was designed to make them more aware of the society and the community. This would be particularly valuable if they could be made to feel that they had a share in the goals of the process and, hence, were able to identify at least partially with the national aspirations of the country. Since most of these teachers receive almost nothing in the way of training or orientation before beginning to teach, the scope for improvement is considerable.[28]

This chapter has presented four scales relating to the cognitive and affective awareness of the teachers about the surrounding social and cultural aspects of the environment. Definite patterns of contrast between the two dimensions were noted for most of the groups and the implications for the groups' effect as socialization agents was discussed. As in the previous chapter, the great majority of the teachers are generally satisfied with current patterns. Only in the case of the volunteers and some of the African students do there seem to be strong concerns about the role of the school. These groups have the potential to act as sources of innovation, but they must win support from the more influential members of staff who generally do not feel that major changes are necessary.

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[28] Answers to the question about orientation, indicate that 60% of the trained teachers did not have any orientation. The 40% that did attended a three day conference of lectures and discussions relating to all of East Africa.

CHAPTER X

TEACHER PARTICIPATION AND INNOVATION IN THE SCHOOL

The previous chapters have dealt primarily with the knowledge, attitudes, and values of the teachers as they related to issues of importance for education in Uganda. In order to provide a more balanced view of the teachers, the emphasis in this chapter will shift to a discussion of teachers' behavior which relates to the teachers' duties in the school. The first part will focus on the ways in which the teacher spends his time: his teaching load, his administrative responsibilities, and his participation in sports and activities in the school. The second part will discuss the number and type of changes which teachers have tried to make. The frequency of innovation attempts will also be discussed in terms of the average level of dissatisfaction with the system as displayed by the groups in scales discussed in earlier chapters.

The Teacher in the Classroom

The average teaching load for each group was computed using only those teachers who indicated that they were employed on a full-time basis. Headmasters and deputy headmasters are not included in these averages since they frequently have lighter teaching loads to allow them to carry out their other responsibilities. As Table 10.1 indicates the majority of the teachers have teaching schedules that average about 26 periods a week.[1] The British Trained and the British Local groups are slightly above that figure, and the Asians and Africans are slightly below that level. The British Volunteers and the Missionaries have teaching loads of 27 periods a week, on the average, while the Peace Corps has the lowest average at just under 25 periods per week.

The differences among these groups is not large enough to be statistically significant in most cases, although the differences between the extreme groups does reach significance at the .05 level. The unusually large difference between the two volunteer groups is worthy of comment. The British Volunteers have the highest average teaching loads

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[1] A class period is usually 40 to 50 minutes in length depending on the school. The number of periods in a week varies from about 35 to 40, again depending on the school. To be more precise these averages would have to be controlled for these variations.

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TABLE 10.1

TEACHING LOADS FOR FULL-TIME TEACHERS BY TEACHER GROUP [a]

Group	Total Teaching Load	Number of Full-Time Teachers	Average HSC Teaching Load[b]	Number Teaching HSC Classes	% of Group Teaching HSC Classes	% of Group Assigned to HSC Schools
British Trained	26.3[c]	115	11.6	47	41%	53%
British TEA/Vol	27.1	36	10.8	12	33%	47%
British Local	26.2	13	8.5	2	15%	52%
Peace Corps	24.7	39	3.0	4	10%	18%
Missionaries	26.8	23	11.0	6	26%	34%
Asians	25.9	40	9.6	5	12%	76%
Africans	25.8	44	6.8	8	18%	25%
TOTALS	26.1	310	10.4	84	27%	45%

[a] Excludes headmasters and deputy headmasters

[b] HSC means Higher School Certificate

[c] Classes per week

of all the groups. The author would attribute this to their youth and enthusiasm, coupled with their familiarity with the school system and its syllabi. In contrast, the Peace Corps Volunteers, who are equally young and enthusiastic, are not at all familiar with the school system or the content of the syllabi. In addition, the Peace Corps Volunteers lack formal teacher training while nearly half of the British Volunteer group hold teaching diplomas.[2] Coupled with this difference in training is the feeling of many headmasters that the Peace Corps Volunteers are a new and untried group. Headmasters are reluctant to assign them heavy teaching responsibilities until the volunteers have demonstrated their abilities. The British Volunteers are a more familiar quantity since they come from the same culture as most of the headmasters; thus, they are more likely to be assigned heavier teaching responsibilities.

The high ranking of the Missionaries reflects their long years of experience and their positions of responsibility as subject heads and senior members of staff. When the school is short of staff, it is the older, more experienced members of staff who are more likely to be assigned to the extra classes. Since Missionaries remain in the school longer than volunteers they are a more likely choice for extra classes since they will be available to provide continuity in the presentation of a subject to a given class.

Table 10.1 also gives information on the proportion of the teaching load which involves classes in the fifth and sixth forms (Higher School Certificate). With about eleven classes per week, the Missionaries, the British Trained teachers, and the British Volunteers have the highest average teaching loads of Higher School classes. They are followed by a cluster consisting of the Asians, the Africans, and the British Local teachers whose loads range from seven to nine classes per week. The Peace Corps Volunteers are very low, with only an average of three Higher School classes per week.

The situation is complicated by the fact that not all teachers are in schools which have Higher School classes and not all the teachers teach Higher School classes even though the school offers them. The last three columns in Table 10.1 help to clarify these conditions. The fourth column gives the actual number of teachers in each sampling group who are teaching classes at the Higher School level; the fifth column indicates the percentage. Thus, the 47 British Trained teachers who teach Higher School classes represent 41% of the total of 115 British Trained teachers in the sample. Because of the small numbers of teachers involved, the percentages for the groups other than the British Trained and the British Volunteer must be considered as only crude approximations of the population figures. At best, one can say that, except for the British Trained and British Volunteer groups, somewhere between 10% and 20% of the teachers teach Higher School classes.

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[2] Forty percent of the British Volunteers are members of the Teachers for East Africa project which includes a one year teacher training course at Makerere University before they begin teaching.

To measure the relative opportunity which teachers have to teach Higher School classes, the percentages given in the last column indicate the proportion of each group who teach in a school with Higher School classes. Comparison of the percentages of teachers who teach classes with the proportions of teachers who have the opportunity to teach Higher School classes gives a more accurate indication of teacher utilization. For example, compare the British Trained group, where 53% are assigned to schools having Higher School classes and 41% are actually teaching such classes, to the case of the Asians where 76% are assigned to schools having these classes but only 12% are teaching at that level. In contrast, the Peace Corps has only 18% assigned to such schools but has 10% teaching Higher School classes.

In theory, a teacher needs to have an Honors degree in his subject in order to be fully qualified to teach sixth form. The need for such high qualifications largely explains the pattern of utilization of teachers at this level. The teachers whom headmasters are most likely to assign to sixth form work are those with a strong academic background and with considerable teaching experience. Thus, groups like the Peace Corps, the Asians, the Africans, and the British Locals are less likely to be teaching in Higher School classes. The result is that about 70% of the teachers in the Higher School classes are either British Trained teachers or British Volunteers. The rigor and specificity of the syllabus at the Higher School level makes it difficult for teachers who have not themselves passed through the system to provide the specialized training which pupils must have in order to pass the examinations.

The over-all pattern displayed in Table 10.1 indicates that the average teaching loads for the different teacher groups are quite comparable, but that the content of the teaching load varies considerably among groups. The two major British groups are much more likely to have substantial numbers of Higher School classes than the other groups. More detailed analysis of subjects and form levels would show even greater differences among the groups in utilization patterns.[3] However, the groups with the greatest teaching loads tend to be those with the most training and experience in teaching.

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[3] The author has much of this data and hopes to pursue the subject of teacher utilization in a subsequent publication. Unfortunately such an effort is outside the limits of the present document.

To complement the measures of classroom teaching, a number of other types of information were collected from the teachers; these included measures of participation in sports and activities and measures of out-of-class responsibilities. Since most of the schools are boarding schools, an important part of the teachers' task is to participate in all facets of school life.

The Teacher Participates in Out-of-Class Activities

The indicators discussed in this section are all based on questions which asked the teacher to describe his current extra-curricular activities and to give an estimate of the amount of time which they took each week. All of these indicators are subject to bias on the part of the respondent, but since they are being used in a comparative way there is less need to be concerned about the absolute accuracy of the estimates. Implicit in the comparison, however, is the assumption that members of the various groups tend to randomly over- or under-estimate their time. To the extent that groups systematically bias their reports the results are less reliable.[4]

The first two questions to be presented concern the teachers' participation in sports and in school societies or activities. In both cases the questions are scored as follows: one represents no involvement at all, two indicates participation for about one hour per week, three indicates participation in one activity for over one hour a week, and four indicates participation in two or more activities. The first question refers only to participation in sports. The second question refers to other activities like clubs, societies, school trips, etc. The scores and ranks of the seven teacher groups are presented in Table 10.2.

The resulting pattern again indicates that the two volunteer groups are similar: each have a ranking of first or third on the two questions. The Peace Corps is higher on sports participation while the British Volunteers are higher on participation in other activities. The distributions show that more than 60% of each group is involved in at

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[4] The results being presented here are generally of an impressionistic, order-of-magnitude level. For more precise use of the results, careful analysis of the data in comparison with other sources would be necessary. One might well argue that differences in concepts of time, of norms for teacher behaviors, and in cultural value constellations would have significant effects on the results. The purpose in presenting the data as it stands is to provide at least crude indicators in an area where virtually no systematic data of any kind now exists.

TABLE 10.2

PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS AND ACTIVITIES BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Participation in Sports [a]	Rank on Sports	Participation in Activities [a]	Rank on Activities
British Trained	2.22	2	2.08	4
British TEA/Vol	2.14	3	2.69	1
British Local	1.46	7	2.38	2
Peace Corps	2.23	1	2.18	3
Missionaries	1.91	5	1.96	5
Asians	1.52	6	1.52	7
Africans	1.98	4	1.93	6

[a] This column contains mean scores on level of participation.

least one sport and one activity. The British Trained group's level of participation in sports is similar to the two volunteer groups, but is somewhat lower, on the average, on participation in other activities. The British Local teachers rank seventh in sports, since most of them are women, but rank equally with the volunteers on participation in activities. The absolute level of participation of the top three groups on both questions indicates that, on the average, members of these groups spend more than one hour a week on a sport and more than one hour a week on some other activity.

In contrast to their high position on over-all teaching load, the Missionaries drop to a ranking of fifth on both of these questions. Two factors contribute to this: their considerably older average age and their heavier than average involvement in administrative activities because of their senior positions. The difference between the Missionaries and the top groups is indicated by the fact that only 40% are involved in at least one sport or one activity.

The African teachers' profile on participation is similar to that of the Missionaries; they rank fourth and sixth on the two questions. Their relatively low level of participation may stem in part from the fact that many of the sports and activities require skills and interests which the Africans have not had the opportunity to develop during their school experience. Also, many of the societies depend on knowledge of hobbies and other non-academic interests which are not readily available to a child growing up in Africa. In such activities the expatriate has a considerable advantage because of the opportunities offered in his home society.

Finally, the Asians rank significantly lower than the other groups on both questions. This may be due to the fact that the Asians teach primarily in day schools which have fewer activities and which devote much less time to them. The result is that only 25% of the Asians participate at any level in a sport or activity. Teaching in a day school tends to reinforce the teachers' concept of his role as one which is carried on during school hours and which is much more separate from the rest of his life than is the case in a boarding school. The author would predict that the average involvement in extra-curricular activities of all teachers in day schools would be noticeably less than for those in boarding schools. It is difficult to say whether this would entirely account for the lower participation level of the Asians. One might hypothesize that the varied and extensive community and family life of the Asians would place heavier demands on their time than comparable activities for Africans or expatriates.

An important part of a teachers' role in Ugandan schools is the variety of administrative and supervisory tasks which must be undertaken in addition to classroom teaching. Most of the schools have little in the way of supporting staff to help in performing these tasks. Particularly in boarding schools the number of non-teaching roles which must be filled by the staff are quite extensive. Teachers are expected to run the library, act as housemasters, organize everything from the collection of school fees to the acquisition of pupils' uniforms, and provide supervision at all times during the term.

Teachers were asked a number of different questions designed to measure the extent of their involvement in such activities. A summary of the results is presented in Table 10.3. The first column reports the percentage of each group which has the responsibility of being a form master. The second column shows the percentage engaged in teaching special classes outside of the regular schedule; the purpose of these classes ranges from remedial work to special advanced work for an optional part of the examinations. Making extra efforts of this kind is a good indicator of the degree of a teacher's involvement in his work. The third column contains the average number of hours per week which members of each group spend on administrative activities, including housemaster for a dormitory, subject master in charge of all arrangements for the teaching of a particular subject in the school, careers master, or having responsibility for the library. It does not include involvement in sports or societies. The last column in Table 10.3 is a cumulative total for all the out-of-class activities of the teacher which relate to school life. The numbers represent the average number of hours which members of each group spend on all the tasks previously discussed, including the sports and activities shown in the preceding table and the hours reported in column three for administrative activities. The numbers in parentheses represent the ranking of the group on the type of participation being discussed in the column. For example, the British Trained group ranks second in terms of the percentage who are form masters and fourth in terms of the number of hours spent on administrative activities.

The information in the first two columns is presented as an example of the kinds of activities in which teachers are frequently engaged. Approximately two-thirds of the teachers hold positions as form masters, although the percentage for individual teacher groups ranges from 82% for the Peace Corps to 39% for the Missionaries. The British Trained teachers, the Africans, and the Asians have about 70% acting as form masters, while the British Volunteers and the British Local group are lower with about 55%. The position of form master is a relatively low level administrative position which can be an important channel of communications but is often used only for administrative tasks such as attendance. The low proportion of Missionaries involved in this task may be a reflection of their relatively higher involvement in more demanding administrative tasks in the school.

The second column in Table 10.3 demonstrates the extent to which teachers are engaged in teaching classes other than those regularly scheduled. About one-third of the total group is engaged in teaching

TABLE 10.3

PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIVITIES BY TEACHER GROUP [a]

Group	% Who Are Form Masters	% Teaching Special Classes	Average Hrs. Administrative Activities	Total Hrs in Non-class Activities
British Trained	74% (2)[b]	32% (5)	3.4 (4)	7.8 (3)
British TEA/Vol	58% (5)	50% (1)	3.2 (5)	8.0 (2)
British Local	54% (6)	5% (7)	2.2 (7)	5.3 (7)
Peace Corps	82% (1)	36% (4)	3.7 (2)	9.0 (1)
Missionaries	39% (7)	36% (3)	3.5 (3)	7.6 (4)
Asians	68% (4)	20% (6)	2.9 (6)	5.5 (6)
Africans	71% (3)	44% (2)	3.7 (1)	7.6 (5)

[a] Includes only those teachers who are full-time & excludes headmasters and deputy headmasters.

[b] The number in parentheses is the rank of the group on that column.

special classes. The averages for individual groups range from 50% for the British Volunteers to a low of 15% for the British Local teachers. The rankings of the various groups on this question are fairly similar to their rankings on the questions dealing with sports and activities. The only exception is the Africans who rank somewhat higher in giving special classes than they did on sports and other activities.

The high proportion of British Volunteers who are engaged in special classes is in keeping with their high over-all class loads. These teachers tend to be both enthusiastic and knowledgeable about the content of the syllabi for some of the optional examinations. As a result, a large proportion are willing to take on extra classes. The Peace Corps Volunteers rank fourth on special classes in comparison to their ranking of seventh on teaching loads. Presumably this difference also reflects enthusiasm which motivates them to help with remedial classes and, perhaps, with classes outside the scope of the formal syllabi.

The figures in column three show that, as a whole, the teachers spend just over three hours a week on administrative activities.[5] The differences among groups are not large but the pattern of relationships is similar to the pattern in Table 10.2 which presents groups' participation in sports and activities. Two notable differences do occur, however. The Africans rank first on administrative time compared with a ranking of about fifth on the other activities. This may reflect the fact that most schools have very few African teachers and the headmaster frequently relies on African members of staff to provide needed communications between the primarily expatriate staff and the African pupils. The low position of the British Volunteers may be a consequence of their high teaching loads and their high levels of participation in other activities. As a result they have little time or energy left for taking on adminstrative responsibilities.

The final column presents the average number of hours per week spent on all out-of-class activities. This includes the administrative activities just discussed, the activities presented in Table 10.2, extra classes, and time spent as form master. As before, it does not include any of the time which the teacher spends in preparing for class or in correcting pupils' papers. The average for all teachers is about 7.5 hours a week. Since administrative duties take about three hours a week the remaining four and one-half hours represent involvement in sports, societies, special classes, and time spent as form master. To appreciate the magnitude of this figure one must remember that it is an average. Many teachers spend much more than this amount of time on non-class activities in the school.

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[5] It should be noted that this figure does not include time spent preparing for classes, correcting papers, or any other activities directly relating to the classroom role of the teacher. This time applies only to responsibilities for out-of-class activities.

The differences among the groups on average total time are large enough to be of some significance. Several interesting differences emerge when total time on non-class activities is compared with total time in class, as indicated by average teaching loads. The Peace Corps has the lowest average teaching load but has the highest total time spent on other activities. This pattern is reflected in the individual items shown in Tables 10.2 and 10.3. The Peace Corps Volunteers rank high on all of them except the one on extra classes where they are fourth. This pattern seems to indicate a channeling of the enthusiasm and energy of the Peace Corps Volunteer into areas where his lack of familiarity with the system is not a handicap.

The pattern for the British Volunteers shows interesting similarities with the Peace Corps, except for the different ranking on total teaching load. The British Volunteers have the highest teaching load of all the groups, and rank second on over-all time spent outside of class. They are lower only on administrative activities and on the proportion who are form masters. In terms of the activities discussed in this chapter the British Volunteers would appear to be the most valuable group of teachers because of their high levels of output.

Three other groups follow closely behind the British Volunteers in terms of average time spent on non-class activities. The British Trained teachers, the Missionaries, and the Africans all spend about seven and three quarters hours a week on these tasks. Their rankings are nearly the same on total teaching loads, indicating that their efforts in one area do not seem to reduce the amount of time spent in the other. One notes that, although the magnitude of the difference is not very large, the African groups rank either fifth or sixth on both of these summary indicators. The only exception being administrative activities where they rank first. This relatively low ranking may indicate some differences in the perception of the teachers' role. Compared to the expatriate, the African seems to be less willing to immerse himself in school activities. The greater degree of immersion of the expatriate teacher in school life may be a result of his lack of belonging to and consequent lack of involvement in local and family activities in the community. For the expatriate the school becomes home, and he tends to compensate for the lack of outside involvement and sources of entertainment by creating a full life for himself within the school. In the author's opinion it would be unrealistic to expect comparable levels of involvement from local teachers now or in the future. The influx of younger, enthusiastic teachers from the training college at Kyambogo may raise the average amount of involvement, but it is unlikely to reach the high levels produced by some of the expatriates.

A contributing factor to the difference between the local teachers and the expatriates is the relative length of commitment of the two kinds of teachers. For most of the expatriates the commitment is for two or three years. Knowing this, they are willing to exert unusual efforts to contribute during this relatively short period. For the local teacher, though, this is a long term task. He is less likely to give up as much of his outside life to the school. He sees his commitment stretching into the future and, in effect, decides to ration his energies so they will last. The relatively low rankings of the Missionaries on most of the indicators probably reflect the fact that many of them see their task as a lifetime commitment.

The Asians and the British Local teachers rank the lowest on total time in non-class activities, with averages that are considerably below those for the other groups. For the Asians this is consistent with their ranking on the other items in this section. As already indicated above, it reflects the fact that they tend to teach in day schools which provide less opportunity for such involvement and reflects the greater commitments which their families and communities require of them. The position of the British Local teachers stems, in part, from the fact that many of them consider their employment a temporary measure, either to fill in available time or to help the school overcome a difficult staff shortage. Many of them are disgruntled with their terms of service since they are hired on local pay and do not receive any of the benefits which expatriates normally have. Both of these things would tend to prevent these teachers from being motivated to spend time on non-academic activities.[6]

In conclusion, this section has attempted to document some of the participatory behavior of the various types of teachers. The results have shown that there are systematic differences in teachers' out-of-class activities. Some of the groups, such as the Missionaries, who rank low on the dimensions discussed in earlier chapters receive much higher rankings on dimensions relating to actual behavior in the school. The high levels of responsibility of the Missionaries in conjunction with some of their values and attitudes presents a problem to the educational planner who is concerned both with efficiency and relevance.

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[6] It should be said, however, that the expatriate wives on local terms provide a very valuable service in enabling headmasters to keep the school fully staffed during the many periods when other staff is coming or going. In addition, many staff wives undertake administrative and supervision responsibilities with no pay at all. A number of important activities, like health service, would be non-existent in many schools without the volunteer efforts of the wives.

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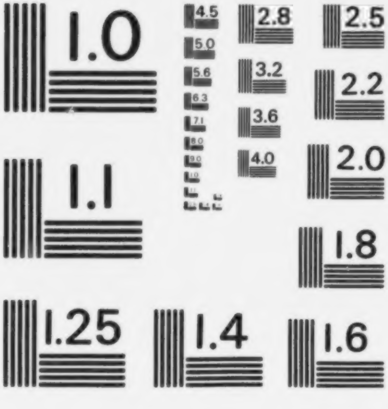
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

Significant differences between local and expatriate teachers have also been noted with consequent implications for the future as schools become more Africanized. The generally high level of activity of the volunteers was discussed. Their case has interesting economic implications because of the relatively low cost of the volunteers.

The results presented in this section really only scratch the surface of the complex and important problem of the utilization of teachers. The figures show enough divergence in patterns of activity to suggest that there would be optimum mixtures resulting from judicious combinations of different types of teachers. One aspect of a school which would be affected by the composition of the staff is the impetus toward growth and change provided by various teachers. In the remainder of this chapter a number of questions which probe the innovative behavior of the teachers will be discussed.

The Teacher as an Innovator

Teachers were first asked to indicate the extent to which they felt a teacher should use his initiative to introduce changes in the school. The question provided four alternatives ranging from "He should seek out and create opportunities to demonstrate and use more effective educational ideas and practices," to "He should try out new ideas or practices only when requested to do so by the headmaster or the relevant ministry officials." As the first column in Table 10.4 indicates, the mean response for the entire group of teachers is about 2.6, which represents a middle position between the two alternatives just mentioned.[7] The majority of the teachers seem to feel that innovations are an important aspect of the teachers' role. Most revealing is the fact that 67% of the total group of teachers chose the first alternative which indicated that teachers should actively seek out and create opportunities to demonstrate more effective educational methods.

The differences among the groups are not very large for this question; most of them fail to reach statistical significance. The Peace Corps rank highest, indicating they are the most likely to engage in innovative activities, and, surprisingly, the British Trained teachers rank lowest, with 54% choosing the most active alternative as compared to 88% for the Peace Corps. The remaining groups fall into two clusters. The highest one contains the African teachers and the two African student

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[7] The other two alternatives were: "He should try out new ideas and practices if the opportunity arises, but not deliberately seek out or create such opportunities," and "He should be content to expose pupils and staff to new ideas through his own example and leave it at that."

TABLE 10.4

NORMS FOR TEACHER INNOVATION ACTIVITIES BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	Group Means on Innovation Norms	Rank on Norms	Syllabus Changes	Rank on Syllabus Changes
British Trained	2.46[a]	9	2.77[b]	2
British TEA/Vol	2.60	6	2.76	3
British Local	2.52	8	2.21	7
Peace Corps	2.88	1	2.68	4
Missionaries	2.53	7	2.86	1
Asians	2.60	5	2.36	5
Africans	2.71	4	2.25	6
Makerere	2.78	2	--	--
Kyambogo	2.73	3	--	--

[a] Critical Differences are: C.D.(2) = .26; C.D. (5) = .37; C.D. (9) = .42

[b] Critical Differences are: C.D.(2) = .40; C.D. (5) = .57; C.D. (7) = .62

groups, all with about 70% choosing the most active alternative. The second cluster contains the remaining four groups of teachers in which just over 60% of each group picked the response indicating the most active involvement in innovation.

The answers to this question indicate that most of the teachers are concerned about making changes, but the Peace Corps Volunteers and the African trainees are most concerned. The position of the student groups seems to suggest that teachers in the future will be even more actively engaged in trying to change the system than those currently teaching. The British Trained teachers, who make up the backbone of the system now, are somewhat more conservative, perhaps because they see less that they feel is inappropriate. However, the differences are more a matter of the degree of activity in promoting changes rather than a matter of supporting changes. To the extent that the new African teachers actively promote innovation there will be an increased chance for conflict between the older and more conservative expatriates and the younger African teachers. Conflict is more likely to be based on the substance of the changes than on perceptions of the proper role of the teacher vis-a-vis innovations.

It is possible to make a comparison between the norms and the behavior of teachers on the basis of their answers to a number of questions about changes which they have made in the schools. The last two columns in Table 10.4 are the result of a question which asked teachers to indicate the extent to which they had made changes in the syllabus of the subjects which they taught. Again, there were four alternatives. They ranged from "I have done extensive work in seeking out new references, writing new materials, and reorganizing the approach to the present syllabus," to "I have not felt the need to make any changes." As in the previous question, the mean for the entire group is in the center of the four alternatives, indicating that the average teacher has made some changes in his approach to the syllabus.

There are two clusters of groups for this question. The higher cluster contains the Missionaries, the British Trained teachers, the British Volunteers, and the Peace Corps, in that order. For all these groups, about 40% of the respondents indicated that they had done some writing of new materials and creating of new approaches to the syllabus. Just under 20% said that they had made extensive changes in the syllabus in their subjects. One notes that, except for the Peace Corps, the groups which are high on making syllabus changes are those who were lower on feeling that the teacher should seek out opportunities to promote changes. Part of this difference can probably be assigned to the fact that the groups indicating the highest degree of change in the syllabus are those with the longest teaching experience in Uganda. Groups like the Peace Corps, who feel that they should promote innovations, have so little experience with the syllabus that they are not really in a position to suggest changes during the first year or more of their service. The British Volunteers serve about the same length of time as the Peace Corps, but their greater initial familiarity with the content of the syllabus makes it easier for them to promote changes.

The second cluster contains the Asians, the Africans, and the British Local teachers. Their average is quite a bit lower than that of the other groups. The low ranking of the British Local teachers is understandable in view of the fact that most of them are temporary. The great majority of this group said that they had made only minor changes in the materials and approaches of the syllabus. However, the low ranking of the Africans and the Asians is both puzzling and a little disquieting. These two groups have lengthy teaching experience, have been through the same system themselves, and also have a good basis for understanding the needs of the pupils. In addition, the Africans indicated that a fairly high level of innovative behavior was desirable for teachers.

A number of reasons can be suggested as to why the Africans, and to a lesser degree the Asians, would not feel that they should attempt to modify the syllabus. Very few of them are in senior positions as subject heads where syllabus content is an official responsibility. In addition, few of them have as much academic background as the senior expatriates, and would therefore tend to feel less qualified to make changes in the syllabus. There is also the real possibility that the African staff might feel that their suggestions were not welcomed by the expatriate subject heads. The net result seems to be that the average African or Asian teacher is less likely to attempt to make changes in the syllabus and is more likely to be satisfied with the content as it stands.

Syllabus modification requires a fair amount of technical expertise and a feeling of confidence about the subject matter. As such, it is a somewhat specialized indicator of the teachers' innovation attempts. To investigate more general innovation two other questions were included. One of these asked whether there are "any activities or sports which you have been responsible for starting in your school." The second one asked, "Have you ever tried to initiate a change in some aspect of the organization or procedure in the school where you are now teaching (e.g., punishment)?" In both cases teachers were to indicate what kinds of changes they had attempted. In the case of changes in the organization of the school the teachers were also asked to rate their degree of success in promoting the change.

Table 10.5 displays, in column one, the percentage of each group who have started a sport or an activity. The ranking of the groups based on that percentage is in column two. Column three contains the percentage of each group who have attempted a change in the organization or procedures of the school, and column four contains the rankings based on that percentage. The final column presents the rankings of the groups based on the number of attempts they made at changing school organization

TABLE 10.5

AMOUNT OF TEACHER INNOVATION BY TEACHER GROUP

Group	% Starting Sports or Activities	Rank on Starting	% Changing Organization	Rank on Change	Rank on Success
British Trained	48%	3	40%	4	5
British TEA/Vol	50%	2	34%	5	4
British Local	32%	7	26%	6	1
Peace Corps	57%	1	55%	1	2
Missionaries	43%	5	45%	3	6
Asians	27%	6	23%	7	7
Africans	42%	4	40%	2	3

and the degree of success which these attempts had. The rankings are based on an index composed by multiplying the number of changes by the degree of success for each of the changes.

The ranking on the activities started places the Peace Corps at the top, followed after a fairly large gap by a cluster of four groups. This middle cluster contains the British Volunteers, the British Trained, the African, and the Missionary teachers. After a somewhat smaller gap come the remaining two groups, the British Local teachers and the Asians. In the middle cluster between 40% and 50% of the teachers have started some sport or activity in their school. The two lowest groups have less than one third of their membership made up of teachers who have started some activity.

The ranking of the two lowest groups is not unexpected. The British Local teachers are on temporary service and hence have little incentive to become deeply involved in the school. The Asians teach mainly at day schools where the opportunity and demand for activities is somewhat less. The two highest ranked groups are also not unexpected; they are the two volunteer groups consisting of young, active, and highly motivated teachers who want to have an impact on their school and want to feel that they have been able to accomplish something in their short period of service. Because they are short term they are willing to take on levels of activity which they probably would not maintain if this were to be a permanent career for them. The fact that they are young and inexperienced is not a disadvantage as far as out-of-class activities are concerned, and the volunteers are quick to seize on an area where they can make a substantial contribution.

The middle groups contain the bulk of the teachers now in the schools. The older members of these groups tend to have administrative responsibilities and would be less likely to want to undertake new responsibilities. Teaching is a career for many of these teachers and they are more likely to establish a lower level of involvement which would leave them more time to spend with their families. The British Trained teachers, the Missionaries, and the Africans all show mild negative correlations between age and percentage involved in starting new activities, indicating that the younger members of these groups are more likely than the older members to start new ventures. The ranking of the Africans is higher than it was for syllabus changes, suggesting that they feel more comfortable with out-of-class innovations which require less technical expertise.

The second question presented in Table 10.5 refers to attempts to change the organization or procedures of the school. A breakdown of the reported changes for the entire group of teachers reflects the kinds of changes most frequently attempted. The two largest areas of concern, with about 30% of the teachers mentioning each, were discipline procedures and a more general category labelled school organization. The latter category included a variety of suggestions ranging from roll call procedures and housing arrangements to modifications of the rules for allowing pupils off the school grounds. The next most popular areas for change were subject matter organization and the question of the amount of pupil participation and responsibility. Both of these were mentioned by about 12% of those indicating that they had attempted some changes. The remaining changes were varied, having to do with the school library, pupils' uniforms, and staff organization.

The relationship among the teacher groups is quite similar to the pattern evident in the question concerning the starting of sports and activities. The extreme groups are identical: the Peace Corps is highest, and the British Local teachers and Asians are at the bottom. In between is the same cluster of four groups, although the order within the cluster is different. The Africans are second over-all and first in the cluster of four, and the British Volunteers have dropped to the bottom of the cluster.

The final column in Table 10.5 shows the ranking of the groups in terms of the effectiveness of those teachers who indicate that they attempted to change some organizational or procedural aspect of the school. Thus, the surprisingly high ranking of the British Local teachers refers only to the 26% of the total group, as indicated in column three, who tried to make changes. In this case, it means six people since the original group only contained a small number of teachers. The implication seems to be that although very few of the British Local teachers try to change what they find in the schools, those who do are unusually effective. This result is probably not generalizable since the number of teachers involved is so small.

The Asian teachers are also unlikely to try making changes, but, in contrast to the British Local teachers, they are not very successful when they do try. The rest of the groups' ranking on the degree of success is roughly similar to their ranking on the questions dealing with innovations. The Missionaries and the British Trained teachers are lower in success rate than they are in attempting change, but they rank closely together with the Africans and the British Volunteers in a cluster in the middle as they do on the innovation questions. The Peace Corps group is significantly higher on success rate than this cluster, and the Asians are significantly lower. In general, then, the effectiveness of the various teachers who attempt changes seems to be proportional to the percentage of the group who attempt these changes.[8] Groups which, on the average, make more attempts also seem to be the groups which are more successful in accomplishing changes.

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[8] The measure of degree of success is not independent of the frequency with which attempts are made because it favors teachers who make more than one attempt. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the significance of the various changes attempted so that several small

The consistently high ranking of the Peace Corps on these innovation questions is worthy of some comment. Because they come from a school system which is very different in organization and content, the situation which they confront in Africa seems to be in need of change and development. The organization of the school conflicts with some of their basic value orientations toward formality, equality, and student-teacher interaction. They see possibilities for introducing new sports, like baseball and basketball; and they find opportunities to start clubs and societies to promote hobbies or activities which are common in American schools. In short, because they come from something different they have alternative models in mind for what a secondary school should look like.

The British expatriates, on the other hand, find a system which is very similar to what they have known at home. While there is scope for improvement and expansion to make the African version more efficient and effective, the British teachers generally do not have an alternative model from which they can draw ideas for change. Likewise, the emotional set which the British and the Americans bring to the task is different. The most comfortable and most likely approach for an individual to take is to attempt modifications which make the system more like what the individual has himself experienced. Thus, by instituting innovations the Americans are, in effect, moving the schools in Uganda closer to the model which they themselves are most familiar with. However, for the British, the system already resembles a familiar pattern and hence changes would tend to be away from that which is most familiar. Such changes are much less likely and require a more innovative character than changes toward familiarity.

Essentially the same thing can be said for the local teachers, both African and Asian. For them, the system is almost precisely the one which they experienced and hence they have even less in the way of a different experience to draw on for change ideas. Offsetting this familiarity, though, is their knowledge of the pupils and the community which gives local teachers a source of understanding and ideas which is less accessible to the expatriates. While the Asians seem to be consistently inactive in regard to innovations, the Africans are quite active. Except in the area of syllabus revision, the Africans seem to be as active in promoting changes as either the British Trained teachers or the British Volunteers.

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changes are given more credit than one large one which may be of much greater significance. The scoring is designed to produce only a crude indicator of success and should be treated with due caution.

Having looked at a number of indicators of change behavior we can now return to the question which probed the teachers' norms about innovative behavior and ask about the relationship between the norms and the behavior. A comparison of the rankings on the questions indicates that there is, at best, a mild positive relationship between the norms and the innovative behavior. With two exceptions, the groups which say teachers should be more innovative tend to be the groups which are more active in promoting change. The exceptions are the British Trained teachers who ranked seventh on the norms, in contrast with third or fourth on the change items, and the Asians who ranked third on the norms but were seventh on almost all the change questions. If the relationship between the norms and changing of the syllabus is considered, then there is even less similarity. Syllabus changing seems to relate to a different set of skills and characteristics than those involved in changes in activities and school organization.

In a similar way, one can refer to the results of Chapter IX which described the level of teachers' dissatisfaction with the current educational system. It was hypothesized then that teachers who were most dissatisfied would be those who were most likely to introduce changes. However, a comparison of the ranking of the groups on the relevance of education scale (Scale 6) and rankings on the change items shows little similarity, although the highest group in both cases is the Peace Corps.

For the Peace Corps, it is likely that these two sets of indicators reflect their background rather than indicate any causal relation between the two indices. For the other groups, the differences between the rankings make it clear that a number of other factors are probably interacting with the teachers' feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction to affect the extent to which they attempt to make changes. For instance, the British Local teachers rank fourth on the relevance of education, indicating a middle level of dissatisfaction, but their temporary status and consequent low level of involvement seem to offset their concern, so they are relatively inactive in making changes. In contrast, the Missionaries and the Africans seem to have very little concern about the relevance of the educational system, yet they are reasonably active in making changes in the system. In the case of the Missionaries this might be attributed to their long teaching experience and their relatively senior positions of responsibility, both of which increase the opportunities which they have for promoting changes.[9] The effectiveness of the Africans may derive from their presumably greater understanding and knowledge of the pupils and their needs.

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[9] An important aspect of the changes attempted by the teachers is not included in this discussion in that no attempt was made to evaluate the direction of the changes proposed. Changes might well be toward a model which many would consider undesirable for Africa today. Some of the anomalies in relations between satisfaction and change attempts might be removed by a more detailed study of the types of changes attempted.

The results of this section on innovations are clearly of an introductory and suggestive nature. They indicate the existence of significant differences in the propensity of different groups of teachers to attempt various kinds of changes. The pattern of results also indicates that those who feel that innovation is part of the teacher's job and those who are dissatisfied with the educational system are not necessarily those who will be most active in promoting changes. The data does reveal the fact that a substantial fraction of all the teachers have been engaged in making changes of some kind. This would seem to indicate that the system is not static, and that teachers are attempting to exert a direct influence on the change and growth of education within the schools.

Comparison with the data presented in the first part of the chapter shows some of the differences among the groups on innovative behavior and on administrative and teaching activities. The somewhat complex pattern which emerges implies that one can expect different levels of teacher behavior depending on what the activity is and on which group is involved. A few general trends are noticeable but must be interpreted with caution. The British Local teachers and the Asians tend to be low on both the time involved in activities and teaching, and in innovative attempts. The African teachers are low on time involved but higher on innovative efforts. The Missionaries and the British Trained teachers have medium to high rankings on both involvement and innovation. And finally, the two volunteer groups tend to be high on both dimensions, although the Peace Corps ranks low on teaching loads and the British Volunteers are only medium on innovative efforts.

The results of this chapter are intended to supplement, with information on the actual behavior of the teachers, the attitude and value data presented in earlier chapters. In part, the purpose is to balance out the description of the groups, particularly those who rank consistently low on attitude and value scales. Some of the groups, such as the Missionaries, carry fairly heavy administrative and teaching loads and have a practical importance to the system greater than their numbers would indicate. In considering the implications of the information presented from the point of view of national goals, the performance of various teachers on socialization dimensions should be balanced by a consideration of their direct practical contributions to the system. It is hoped that the information outlined in this chapter will help the reader to maintain a realistic balance between the socialization goals and the needs for everyday running of the schools.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, a summary of the responses of each of the nine groups of teachers will be presented. The descriptions will of necessity involve some fairly broad generalizations and the reader is encouraged to refer back to the chapter where the specific information was presented whenever he feels that a generalization inadequately represents the data. Because of the wide variations in teachers, both within and between groups, the reader is cautioned against making direct application of the generalizations found in the summary. While many of the results would appear to have implications for policy decisions about education in Uganda, care should be taken that all the relevant aspects of the problem are considered together. Where the data seems to have justifiable implications for educational policy, the author will try to indicate the general area where the impact will be most significant.

Although the descriptions which follow will be based mainly on the ranking of the groups on different scales, the reader is reminded that differences in rank are not always significant for a particular scale. Very high or very low rankings do tend to differ significantly from rankings in the middle, but the reader is advised to refer to the figures presented at the end of Chapters VII, VIII, and IX for a visual representation of the positions of the groups on the various scales. It is important to remember that the pattern on many of the scales consists of several clusters of groups and a few single groups outside of the clusters. In interpreting the results for a particular group of teachers, the pattern of rankings over a number of scales is probably a more reliable indicator than the exact ranking on a given scale. Thus, the summaries presented in this chapter are based primarily on the patterns of ranking across the scales; Table 11.1 contains a summary of the rankings on all the scales.

The British Trained Teachers

In many ways this group can be considered the backbone of the teaching force. It is the largest single group, with 32% of the total number of teachers; except for the Missionaries, it has the longest average time spent teaching in Uganda (2.6 years) of the expatriate groups, and it ranks third on both total teaching load and on total time spent on all out-of-class activities in the schools. Since these teachers are both trained and experienced when they arrive, their initial

TABLE 11.1

SUMMARY OF RANKINGS ON SCALES BY TEACHER GROUP

	Affective Image of Government	Cognitive Awareness of Government	Discussion of National Affairs	Pupil Participation in the School	Election of Pupil Leaders	Relevance of Education	Awareness of Social Environment	Image of Traditional Culture	Contact with Pupils' Background	School-Community Interaction	Total Average Teaching Load	Total Time in Non-class Activities
British Trained	8	6	5	4	8	7	7	5	5	5	3	3
British TEA/Vol	7	7	4	6	5	4	9	3	7	3	1	2
British Local	9	9	3	5	7	6	8	7	8	8	4	7
Peace Corps	6	8	1	1	2	1	6	2	6	2	7	1
Missionaries	5	5	9	9	9	9	4	8	1	9	2	4
Asians	4	4	8	8	4	5	5	9	2	7	5	6
Africans	2	2	6	7	6	8	2	4	3	6	6	5
Makerere	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	1	4	1	-	-
Kyambogo	1	1	7	2	1	3	1	6	-	4	-	-

teaching contributions are presumably more useful than the efforts of other expatriate groups who lack either training or experience, as in the case of the volunteer groups.

In contrast to their relatively high ranking on hours spent teaching and participating in school activities, the British Trained teachers have an average ranking of 6.0 on the ten dimensions relating to national socialization. Their highest ranking, fourth, is on the scale dealing with the pattern of pupil participation in the running of the school. For the other dimensions the British Trained teachers rank fifth or lower. In general, this group is to be found in the cluster of groups which is somewhat below the mean for all the teachers. The lowest ranking of the group is eighth which occurs on two of the dimensions.

The relatively low ranking of the group on the dimensions which represent the attitudes and knowledge which are probably prerequisites for teachers who are to be effective socialization agents presents something of a problem to educational planners who are convinced that such socialization is an important part of the school's job. Planners might be particularly concerned by the group's low ranking on the dimensions measuring orientation toward the government, on the scale indicating concern about the relevance of the educational system, and on the scale reflecting teachers' awareness of the social and cultural environment. The low scores on these scales are a point for concern because of the impact which the British Trained teachers have on the schools. Because they constitute the largest single group of teachers, and because of their seniority and experience, the British Trained teachers tend to be the dominant group in the schools. The organization within a school, the pattern of relations between staff and pupils, and the general tone of the schools tends to be set by this group. Thus, to the extent that their attitudes and values are different from those which Uganda wishes its pupils to acquire, there is need for concern.

If Uganda decides to attempt significant changes in either the content of secondary education or the organization within the schools, then attention must be paid to the attitudes of the British Trained teachers toward those changes. For changes to be really effective they must, at the very least, have the nominal support of this group of teachers, and, more realistically, the changes need their active support. The probability of easily gaining the support of the British Trained teachers would depend strongly on the particular changes being proposed. While they rank moderately high in starting new activities and attempting to make changes in the school, they rank seventh on the dimension related to concern about the relevance of the current educational system. The latter ranking suggests that as a group they are fairly satisfied with the system as it now functions and feel that it is accomplishing the desired results.

Gaining their support for a change would be easiest when they perceive the change as desirable in reference to the implicit model of secondary education which they bring with them from England. This does not mean that changes would have to be exactly parallel to the situation in England, but rather that the change should be interpretable in ways which are in keeping with the philosophies underlying English education.[1] Where proposed changes are clearly outside the dominant approach to education in England, educational planners should be consciously aware that, in all probability, there will be opposition from the British Trained teachers. A number of strategies to inform and convince these teachers of the desirability of the proposed changes in the context of Uganda can be envisioned. The returns on the cost of making an effort to communicate with the teachers would most likely more than justify the expenditure, particularly if the change was felt to be important to the national development efforts of the country.

British TEA/Volunteers

This group, which contains about 10% of the teaching force, is a mixture of volunteers and teachers serving under the Teachers for East Africa scheme. The group ranks very high on the participatory measures, having the highest average teaching load and ranking second on total time spent in school activities. The group is seven years younger in average age than the British Trained group and this difference in age seems to be reflected in their very high level of activity. The average British Volunteer has spent just under two years teaching in Uganda, and because of his familiarity with the syllabus and the system he is probably able to adjust fairly quickly to his job.

The hypothesis that the British Volunteer group would be similar to the volunteers from the United States turns out to be generally false.

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[1] The comments made here with reference to the British Trained teachers, would also be applicable to the other expatriate teachers (British, American, and others). The discussion is mentioned in the context of the British Trained teachers because they are the most influential group in the schools and their reaction to proposed changes are frequently the deciding factor in determining success or failure. The author would also point out a problem of cultural bias which is inherent in this discussion. American culture tends to place a high value on change as a good thing in itself, with the underlying assumption that change is always for the better. British culture tends to do just the opposite. A high value is placed on preservation of continuity and tradition based on the assumption that the processes which have served England so well in the past will continue to be productive in the future.

However, a discernible trend indicates that the British Volunteers are more similar to the Peace Corps Volunteers than are the British Trained teachers. This is reflected in the over-all average ranking of 5.5 for the British Volunteers, as compared with 6.0 for the British Trained teacher, which is somewhat closer to the ranking of 3.5 which the Peace Corps has for all the dimensions. On the whole, though, it is more accurate to say that the British Volunteer tends to respond in a pattern which is closer to that of the British Trained teacher than it is to that of the Peace Corps Volunteers. Much of the difference between the two British groups can probably be explained on the basis of their age differential. In most cases the youngest of the trained teachers react similarly to the volunteers[2] (see Figure 8.1 for an example of this similarity).

The ranking of the British volunteer group ranges from a high of third on two dimensions, image of traditional cultures and school-community relations, to seventh on three other scales. The lowest ranking, ninth, is on awareness of social and cultural environment. The pattern of rankings shows that the group has a tendency to be highest on scales relating to attitudes and norms and lowest on scales relating to knowledge and awareness of environment. Thus, for example, they are fairly concerned about the relevance of the current style of education in Uganda but rank seventh and ninth on the two scales dealing with knowledge and contact with the local environment. They feel that national issues should be discussed with pupils but rank seventh on both affective and cognitive orientations toward the government, suggesting that they might not be particularly good sources of information. The results seem to indicate that this group has the attitudes and the motivation to promote socialization for national goals but generally lacks the knowledge about or experience in the country to make them really effective agents of socialization.

The potential of the British Volunteers as supporters of innovations is probably somewhat greater than that of the British Trained teachers. The volunteers show a fairly high degree of concern about the relevance of the education being presented, and they are also quite sympathetic toward the values of the traditional culture from which future changes might well derive impetus. In addition, their younger age makes it less probable that they have become set in their ideas as to what is desirable for secondary schools. Many of the volunteers have had a school experience which differed from that of the older British teachers and which reflects some of the more recent innovation attempts taking place in England. While they are not likely to attempt major changes themselves, it is probable that their support could be enlisted with a minimum of effort on the part of the innovator, depending on the extent to which the proposed change differed from the norms of British education. The British Volunteers are probably less firm in their attachment to these norms than are the trained teachers, but the norms still exercise an important influence on the attitudes of the volunteers.

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[2] These results lend support to the intuitive description of British teachers in East Africa by R. Freeman Butts. He distinguishes between an older "colonial" school master and the newer type, which he sees as more motivated by a sense of service and a concern for his students. R. Freeman Butts, American Education in International Development (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963), p. 69.

British Local Teachers

This is a small group, comprising only about 5% of the teaching force and composed almost entirely of British wives on local terms. Their practical importance lies primarily in the fact that they form a flexible pool of temporary teachers who can be used on a short term basis to fill gaps in the teaching staff. They play an important role as emergency staff, particularly when vacancies occur in forms preparing for examinations. When hired on a full-time basis they carry a reasonably heavy teaching load as indicated by their ranking of fourth on average teaching loads. However, their generally temporary status affects their total time spent in out-of-class activities as reflected by their low ranking of seventh on this scale.

Their position on the dimensions relating to national socialization is generally very low. The group has an over-all average ranking of 7.0, the lowest of all the groups. There are only two scales on which their rank rises above sixth: they rank third on the discussion of national affairs and fifth on the scale concerned with the degree of pupil participation in the schools. The lowest rankings of the group occur on the scales relating to knowledge of and contact with the surroundings on both a local and a national level. The resulting impression which one gets about this group is that it has little potential for acting as effective agents of socialization in the schools.

In general, the profiles for the three groups of British teachers are quite similar. The fact that they have shared a common socialization experience, namely that of being British citizens, seems to override differences caused by age, sex, and professional experience. The only notable deviations from this pattern of similarity occur in the relatively high ranking of the volunteers in comparison to the other British groups on the scales dealing with traditional culture, school-community interaction, and relevance of education. These are all attitudinal scales which reflect the apparently greater willingness of the volunteers to accept the values and goals of another society as an equally valid way of regulating society. The volunteers also seem to have a more flexible concept of the role which secondary education should play in Uganda.

U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers

The Peace Corps Volunteers constitute 10% of the teachers, and are therefore almost exactly the same proportion of the total as the British TEA/Volunteer group. The Peace Corps is slightly younger, with an average age of 23, and their average time spent teaching in Uganda is about one year since half the group completes its service each year and is replaced by new volunteers. The average for the British group is longer because a number of the TEA teachers stay for more than two years.

The average teaching load carried by the Peace Corps Volunteers is noteworthy because it is the lowest of all the groups of teachers. Yet, in sharp contrast to this ranking is their ranking of first on total time spent in out-of-class activities of all kinds. Thus, it would appear that the volunteers are compensating for their lower class loads by undertaking unusually high responsibilities in other aspects of school life. Such a pattern of utilization of the American volunteers may represent a fairly efficient use of resources. The volunteers are somewhat hampered in the classroom by their lack of familiarity with the syllabus and relative lack of training and teaching experience. On the other hand, they bring with them a wide variety of skills, interests, and motivations which make them exceptionally valuable in promoting some of the less academic roles of the school. The strength of the volunteers in the out-of-class activities also tends to complement the skills and interests of those teachers who see their job as primarily a matter of academic training and those teachers whose heavy responsibilities in the classroom prevent them from participating extensively in non-classroom activities.

The volunteers exhibit a very interesting pattern of responses to the ten dimensions relating to socialization. Their over-all ranking average of 3.5 is the highest of any of the expatriate groups, and, in fact, is higher than all the groups with the exception of the two African student groups. Looking at the ranking of the volunteers on the scales, two very clear groups of scales emerge. On the four scales which relate to knowledge, awareness, and contact with the environment, the volunteers rank either sixth or eighth. On these four scales they are in essentially the same position as the three British groups. This indicates that, except for the Missionaries, the average expatriate teacher is noticeably below the Africans and Asians on these scales. The difference reflects, in an obvious way, the socialization effect on those who grow up in the country in comparison to those who come from a very different culture and who stay only relatively short periods of time.

On the remaining six dimensions the Peace Corps Volunteers rank either first or second. All of these deal with attitudes or values of the teachers, and reflect norms which the teacher has about education, the role of the schools, and the educational needs of Uganda. The consistently high rankings of the Peace Corps on these scales derive from a number of factors, some of which have been pointed out in earlier chapters. The more important of these factors include the values which the Americans bring with them from their own school experience, their reaction to the values which they perceive in the schools of Uganda, and the idealistic motivation which their status as volunteers and their training tend to reinforce. The implications for the effectiveness of the Peace Corps Volunteers as socialization agents seem to be that they are more likely to try to transmit national concerns to pupils but that they will be hindered by their lack of knowledge about Uganda. This pattern of being high on the attitudinal and value scales and lower on the knowledge scales was also exhibited by the British Volunteers, although on a much more subdued level. For the British Volunteers the differences between rankings on the two kinds of scales was about two ranks, whereas for the Peace Corps Volunteers the difference is about five ranks.

The strength and the consistency of the differences between the Peace Corps Volunteers and the remainder of the teachers in the schools has very definite implications for the innovative influence which the volunteers might have. The very different implicit model which the volunteers have for secondary schools and the strength of their motivation suggests that the volunteers would attempt to instigate changes. Their very high ranking on the two questions which measured innovation attempts in both the organizational aspects of the school and the activities of the school indicate that they are indeed very active in attempting change. It is highly probable that most of these change attempts are directed at producing school characteristics which are more in keeping with the values and norms which the volunteers have learned at home. Likewise, the support of the volunteers for innovations proposed by others would probably be directly proportional to the degree to which the innovations were perceived to coincide with the values and attitudes of the volunteers.[3]

The problem facing educational planners on a national scale, and headmasters on a local scale, with regard to the effect of the volunteers centers around questions of the desirability, the extensiveness, the approach, and the timing of the changes instigated by the volunteers. The question of desirability must ultimately be answered by the Ugandans on the basis of their goals for the school system. To the extent that changes which move in the direction of the philosophy underlying American education are consistent with the goals of an independent Uganda, such innovative activity would be judged beneficial.

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[3] The innovational activities of the volunteers probably derives primarily from their different national background rather than from their volunteer status. The author would guess that the impact of the American Teachers for East Africa was comparable. The author would also hypothesize that the characteristics of the Canadian volunteers would be quite similar to those of the American Peace Corps Volunteers. As a group, the Canadians would probably lie between the American volunteers and the British volunteers, but generally closer to the American end of the continuum. Unfortunately, the number of Canadians was too small to treat them as a separate group.

The other three aspects of the question really depend on the decisions about the optimal rate of change in the schools. How much disruption of the orderly production of scholarly knowledge is considered tolerable in order to promote more effective socialization toward non-academic goals? This is the design problem which planners and national leaders must grapple with. Given the relative inexperience of the volunteers and their youthful idealism, one would predict that some of their efforts would be excessively disruptive or perhaps unrealistic in terms of the capabilities of the institution for change.

Planners need to concern themselves with the determinants of the impact which volunteers have on a school. How many volunteers are sufficient to plant desirable seeds of change without creating forces of disruption which threaten the entire structure of the school? How do the approaches commonly used by volunteers influence the degree of disruption produced by the attempted changes? Would changes in the training and orientation procedures which volunteers undergo improve their usefulness in promoting both the type and degree of change which Uganda considers desirable? The results of this study are sufficient only to indicate the high level of potential which the Peace Corps has for introducing innovation in the schools and to demonstrate the fairly great extent to which the volunteers are attempting to promote changes. Further study is both desirable and necessary if planners are to successfully meet the need for control of the direction and pace of change in the schools.

Missionaries

The Missionaries are a relatively small group, constituting about 8% of the total teaching population sampled, but they have an influence much greater than their numbers would suggest. Their high ranking on both total teaching load and total time spent on school activities gives a partial indication of their importance. The factor which makes these performance rankings so potent, though, is the Missionaries' relatively long length of service. The average missionary in the sample had been teaching in Uganda for over seven years, the longest average of any of the teaching groups, expatriate or local. The result is that a large majority of them are in senior positions of authority as headmasters, subject masters, or senior members of staff.

The pattern of rankings for the Missionaries on the socialization scales is almost a complete reversal of the pattern for the volunteer groups. The average ranking for the Missionaries, 6.8, is essentially the same as the average ranking of the British Local teachers. But the Missionaries exhibit a very different pattern. They rank ninth on all but one of the scales dealing with attitudes and values. Only on the scale concerned with the image of the traditional culture do they rank higher, with a rank of eighth and a mean which is considerably above the mean for the Asians who are ninth. Thus, on virtually all the attitude scales the Missionaries define what might be termed the most conservative end of the scale. Compared to the other teachers, they are the most satisfied with the structure and content of the educational system as it now stands, they are least likely to discuss national issues with pupils, and they have almost the least favorable image of traditional cultures.

On the remaining four scales which deal with knowledge and contact with the environment, the Missionaries have medium to high rankings. They are fifth on the two orientation toward the national government scales, fourth on the scale relating to awareness of the social environment, and first on the scale measuring contact with the pupils' background. In all four cases the Missionaries rank higher than the other expatriates on these scales. The result is a very paradoxical pattern. The Missionaries are the best informed of all the expatriates, and yet they have a set of attitudes and values which makes them the least likely to be effective agents of socialization for the new nation.

The probability that the Missionaries would be supporters of attempts to change the organization or content of education does not appear to be too high. However, as with the other groups, the response of the Missionaries would depend on how the proposed innovation related to their own values and goals. The combination of their commitment to the religious value system, their relatively older age, and their long involvement in education in Uganda would tend to make them fairly conservative with regard to change.

Many of them have a direct personal involvement in the school, and, as a result, proposals for change are sometimes seen as attempts to undo the work to which they have dedicated their lives. Resistance is most likely to occur in changes which reflect newer values about the role of pupils, about rules governing pupil behavior, and about the school's role in promoting national development. On the other hand, the extensive experience which many of them have had with rural, traditional society makes them more appreciative of the needs which pupils from such an environment have. In the past, Missionary efforts have frequently been associated with attempts to provide a more practical and realistic content for education. Thus, innovations which move in the direction of more applied content in education would be more likely to receive support from the Missionaries.

Asians

The Asians comprise about 12% of the teachers in the sample and are an important source of trained teachers from the local population. They rank fifth on total teaching load and sixth on time spent in non-class activities, indicating a somewhat lower average level of participation than most of the expatriates exhibit. Part of this lower average can be traced to the concentration of Asians in urban, day schools which have less opportunity for out-of-class activities. The Asians contribute valuable continuity to the schools because they tend to teach for long periods of time. The average length of teaching experience for the group in the sample was just under seven years. They constitute a relatively well educated minority group in the population of Uganda, and their proportion in the teaching force is greater than their proportion in the total population.

The average ranking of the Asians on the socialization scales is 5.6, almost the same as the average for the British Volunteers. However, the pattern of rankings tends to be just the reverse of the pattern for the volunteers. The Asians are relatively high on the knowledge and contact scales, as one would expect since they are long-term residents of the country. On the attitude and value scales, though, they rank quite low. They do deviate from this general pattern on two of the attitude scales. The group is fourth on the dimension relating to the election of pupil leaders and is fifth on the scale about the relevance of education. On these two dimensions they are very comparable to the British Volunteer group.

The position of the Asians on six of the scales reinforces the stereotype which characterizes them as being in an intermediate position between the Africans and the expatriates. The ranking of the Asians on the knowledge scales is higher than those of the expatriates, but lower than those of all the African groups. On the two attitude scales mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Asians are again in a middle position. However, on the remaining four attitude and value scales their position is very low, below that of the Africans and the bulk of the expatriates. The implications of these rankings for the socialization effect of the Asians is somewhat ambiguous. Because of their minority position they are not likely to be very effective in socializing African pupils. However, the Asians do have the potential of socializing the Asian pupils toward more sympathetic and more effective participation in the efforts to build a new nation. The identification of the types of Asian teacher which are most effective at producing such socialization would require a detailed study of the Asian teachers.

The tendency of this group to initiate or actively support innovations is probably fairly small. As a group they rank seventh on both of the questions concerning initiation of changes in the schools. The degree to which they can be expected to support proposed changes is difficult to assess. They do indicate a middle level of concern about the relevance of education, but whether this refers primarily to the relevance of the education for the Asians or to the relevance for all the pupils is hard to know. Clearly, one can expect that their support of or opposition to innovation proposals would depend on their perception of its effect on the Asian pupils. The fact that the Asian teachers tend to be older and have fairly long teaching experience would lend support to their tendency to respond conservatively to proposed changes.

Africans

This group is made up of all the Africans sampled who are teaching in the schools and contains 16% of the total. As a group they rank sixth on total average teaching load and fifth on total time spent in activities outside of the classroom. The teachers in this group have a fair amount of experience, with the average teacher having spent just over five years teaching. The group differs from the others in that about one third of them do not have a university degree. The teachers in this group have the distinction of being the only ones who can serve unequivocably as citizenship models for African pupils.

The pattern of rankings on the scales for the African teachers has a profile similar to that of the Missionaries, but about two ranks higher on the average. The over-all average ranking for the Africans is 4.6, with ranks of either second or third on the scales dealing with knowledge and contact and with ranks of six to eight on the attitude and value scales. The high ranking on scales measuring knowledge of local and national environment is to be expected in light of the fact that this group is composed of Africans who have grown up in Uganda. Clearly, this group has the knowledge which is necessary if the teacher is to act as a source of information for the pupils.

Yet, with the exception of the scale relating to image of traditional cultures, the Africans have fairly low ranks on the attitude scales. Their ranking puts them toward the lower end of the expatriate groups on most of the scales and seems to reflect the effectiveness of the socialization process which occurred when the African teachers were in school. In other words, their profile is much the same as that for the British teachers of similar age and experience. It is only with regard to their own cultures that the Africans show a noticeably higher ranking than the expatriates, and even there the Africans are still below the two volunteer groups. The implications for the performance of the African teachers as effective agents of national socialization do not seem promising. They have the necessary background but they do not appear to feel that conscious attempts to transmit attitudes are a part of the role of education, and they do not seem inclined to take part in discussions or other activities which might aid the transmission process.

As in the case of the Asians, the probability of innovative behavior on the part of the African teachers is hard to assess. The ranking of the Africans on the two questions relating to initiation of innovations in the schools is fairly high. Yet, as a group, they do not seem particularly dissatisfied with the education being offered or with the organization of the schools. These factors would suggest that the motivation for change is not very strong. Having been educated themselves in the same system, and having limited experiences, most of the African teachers cannot be expected to have an alternative model of secondary education which they would like to promote.

On the other hand, the African teachers are usually in the minority on school staffs and frequently feel that the role which they are allowed to play is much less significant than it should be considering that they are the only nationals on the staff. Particularly among the younger teachers, the author encountered feelings of dissatisfaction and unrest. The responses of the African students discussed in the next section offer considerable support for the existence of such feelings. The failure of these feelings to show up in the response of the African teachers probably results from the fact that the majority of the African teachers are older and their feelings are not as strong as those of the younger teachers.

Makerere and Kyambogo Students

The two student groups will be discussed together since their pattern of responses is very similar. Of the two, the Kyambogo group is much more important in terms of its probable effect on the schools. About 100 students graduated in 1967, and the annual output will rise to 150 in the next few years. In contrast, the Makerere group numbers about 20, and not all of those will actually become teachers. As individuals, the Makerere group will be more influential because of their higher academic degree. They are more likely to rise quickly to positions of responsibility and can be expected to have an influence greater than their numbers would suggest.

The striking thing about the pattern of rankings for these two groups is their similarity across the two kinds of scales; there is no grouping of ranks which distinguishes the knowledge scales from the attitude scales. The Makerere group has a slightly higher average ranking, 2.5 compared to 3.2 for the Kyambogo group. They are both consistently above the other groups, with the exception of the Peace Corps on the attitude scales. In two cases, the Kyambogo group ranks quite low: seventh on the scale relating to discussion of national affairs with pupils, and sixth on the scale relating to traditional cultures. On these two dimensions the added years of schooling which the Makerere students have seem to make a significant difference in their attitudes.

The implications for the socialization role of these students when they become teachers are quite promising. As young African citizens the teachers will be attractive models for the pupils to identify with and to emulate. Their knowledge of the country is high, and their attitudes and values suggest that they are interested and willing to participate in the kinds of activities which have the potential of transmitting national goals and attitudes to the pupils. There may be some differences in effectiveness between the Makerere students and the Kyambogo students because of their attitudes on discussion of national issues, and because of the more favorable feelings which the Makerere students have about the traditional cultures. However, the much larger number of Kyambogo students can be expected to more than offset the greater impact of individual Makerere students.

The problem which remains unexplored, however, is the extent of the socialization effect of which the more conservative staff now teaching in the schools will have on these students. The students will undoubtedly move toward the position of the majority of staff members. The gap in attitudes and values indicated by the scales is so great that if some accommodation does not take place it is unlikely that many of the students will be willing to remain as teachers. It will be particularly difficult for the Kyambogo students to retain their views because of their relatively low status in the school. Not only are they virtually the only non-graduates on the staff, but they are inexperienced, considerably younger, and they receive a salary which is less than half that of the expatriates. The Makerere students will have a much easier time, but even they can be expected to move toward the norms of the rest of the staff.

The two student groups seem, nevertheless, to have a high potential for producing change in the schools. They have quite high levels of dissatisfaction with both the degree of relevance of the current education and with various aspects of the organization of the schools. Their effectiveness in promoting change, however, is more problematical. Along with all the problems of low status, there is also the problem that many of them tend to see the initiation of changes as the responsibility of senior teachers or headmasters. No part of the student's training has been directed at producing an understanding of how institutions change or how an individual can be most effective in introducing new ideas. Initial attempts at change, motivated by enthusiasm and high ideals, may therefore meet with frustration or even censure.

Their resilience in the face of difficulties may, in part, be dependent on the amount of support and acceptance which their ideas find with other members of staff. Initially, the students will probably be posted singly or in pairs to the schools. In any given school they may feel isolated and unsure of themselves and their ideas. Over a period of several years, though, a small nucleus of three or four teachers may develop in many of the schools; thus, they can gain reinforcement and support from each other. It is also likely that informal alliances will spring up between the new African teachers and the expatriate volunteers, and perhaps with some of the younger British Trained teachers. To the extent that these new teachers are able to find acceptance by their peers, their personal insecurity will probably be reduced, and the common tendency of new teachers to be overly strict and rigid may well be lessened. As the proportion of new and volunteer teachers in the schools increases, it is conceivable that they will form an effective force for the development of a genuinely African oriented style of education in the schools.[4]

Implications for Planning Strategies

This study will conclude with a brief discussion of some of the implications which the results summarized in the first part of this chapter have for the recruitment and utilization of teachers in Uganda. The generalizations in the study are derived from data which are primarily exploratory and descriptive. Hence, it would be unwise to make specific recommendations on the basis of these generalizations. One can, however, indicate ways in which information of this type might be used in the planning process.

In the summary on each type of teacher, comments have been made about their potential contribution to the socialization of pupils toward national goals. The over-all impression created by the summaries suggests a relatively low potential for socialization. Groups like the Missionaries, the Asians, and the Africans are high on knowledge, but low on the attitudes and values which would motivate them to transmit this knowledge. In contrast, the two volunteer groups are low on knowledge but relatively high on motivation. The British Local teachers are generally low on both kinds of scales and the British Trained teachers rank middle to low. That leaves only the two student groups; they are generally high on both knowledge and attitudes which makes them the only group which shows a consistent pattern indicating a fairly high potential for socialization.

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[4] It should be noted that the comments on the innovative role of the new African teachers are speculation on the part of the author. To the author's knowledge there have been no official indications that such a role might be desirable. The training which these teachers have received contains strictly traditional subject matter and methods and does not prepare these teachers to be any different from those already in the schools.

These results would lead one to hypothesize that very little in the way of socialization for national goals is taking place as a result of the actions of teachers. The supplementary data about the schools, collected by the author during interviews with headmasters and teachers, produced the same impression. Very little is done to develop school activities, either in or out of class, which promote the various goals of the nation or develop attitudes and values supportive of those goals. On the other hand, the school is not negative or hostile to national goals. The result is an atmosphere which is neutral. The tacit assumption seems to be that everyone knows and accepts the national goals and, hence, there need not be any conscious or overt attempt to design activities which would promote these goals.

In effect, a decision has been made to opt out of any attempt at national socialization in the schools. Particularly for the expatriate teacher, such a decision seems eminently defensible on the grounds that they should not attempt to participate in a transmission process for which they are unqualified because of their culture and nationality. Yet, closer inspection reveals that what appears to be opting out of the decision is in reality a decision to transmit the values and attitudes which were embodied in the socialization of the teacher when he grew up. The editors of a recent collection of writings on the teaching of social studies deal very effectively with the assumption that education can be value free. They conclude that,

> In sum, educators cannot escape judgments concerning the values, competencies, and knowledge that students should have. And these judgments indirectly or directly help shape what the social system is or may become. Stated differently, there is inevitably a frame of social knowledge or conception of the society imbedded in the teacher's choice of what and how he teaches.[5]

The teachers' attempts not to become involved in the socialization of pupils for national goals derives partly from their concept of the teacher's role and partly from the fact that the government has made essentially the same decision. The government's position is almost surely a default position resulting from the tremendous efforts required just to keep the system functioning in its present form. The question of consciously trying to create school situations which will produce the most desired form of socialization has never really been considered by planning officials. The result is a political investment strategy which may have some fairly high costs associated with it.[6] The costs are not direct financial ones, but rather costs in terms of the rate and extent of the development of a political entity of Uganda.

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[5] J. P. Shaver and H. Berlak (eds.), Democracy, Pluralism, and the Social Studies (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968), p. 62.

Stated succinctly, the present strategy is to make little or no effort to use the potential which the secondary school system has for creating and developing in pupils the attitudes and values that form the reservoir of support and tolerance so essential for political development. The results reported in this study indicate that the pattern of attitudes and knowledge of most teachers is such that their socialization effect on the pupils is probably fairly small.[7] The results also indicate, though, that there are significant differences in the profiles of different kinds of teachers. These differences provide the planners with the potential for choosing alternative political investment strategies, if they desire to do so.

By attempting to influence various types of teachers, in ways suited to their attitudes and knowledge about Uganda, planners could greatly increase the potential of the teaching staff for socialization of the pupils in desired directions. By selective use of orientation sessions for expatriates, by modification of training for new African teachers, and by selection of the sources from which teachers are recruited, much could be done to create a teaching force with an increased potential for national socialization. For example, the volunteers seem to be high on the necessary attitudes and motivation but lacking in knowledge of the country and its aims. An in-country orientation provided by Uganda could do much to provide volunteers with the information and understanding needed to make them more effective. Similarly, orientation courses designed to provide both information and motivation might be effective in making the British Trained teachers more involved in the development of the country and more aware of the desirability of exerting an influence on pupils' attitudes. For the African teachers, the training courses could be modified to include training in the ways in which teachers transmit attitudes to pupils and the ways in which the organization of the school influences pupils. Finally, as the pressure to find teachers decreases, the government can be more selective about the types of teachers recruited. Groups of teachers which seem to have the lowest potential for socialization can be gradually phased out, or if that is not feasible, more rigorous selection policies can be implemented to select only those teachers who do seem to have suitable attitudes.

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[6] The concept of "political investment strategy" is discussed by Almond and Powell. They view the concept primarily as a predictive tool for evaluating alternative leadership strategies. Its application in the context of this study would lead to the evaluation of the socialization effects of alternate educational strategies. G. Almond and G. Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1966), p. 326.

[7] These results support views expressed by Coleman in discussing the relative lack of politicization of educational content in developing countries. He notes the obvious unfeasibility of using foreign teachers to transmit political ideology and also suggests that many indigenous teachers would be unreliable for such a task because of their training in essentially foreign systems. J. S. Coleman (ed.), Education and Political Development (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 47-48.

The illustrations in the previous paragraph are merely examples to indicate how educational planners might make more effective use of their teacher resources. The specific content and techniques associated with such an approach would depend on the specific national goals which were to be promoted. Ideally, the choice of these goals would be based on a consciously chosen political investment strategy where the costs and benefits of alternate strategies had been evaluated and the most suitable one selected.[8] The current default strategy now in effect should at least be evaluated so that planners and leaders will become aware of the various alternatives available.

Other characteristics of teachers revealed by the results of this study have similar implications for developing strategies of teacher utilization. If planners wanted to produce certain innovations in the schools, then the tendencies of different kinds of teachers to initiate and support changes would have implications for the policies which controlled the proportions of different types of teachers in the schools. Decisions about the relative importance of academic versus socialization goals for the schools would have definite implications for the selection and training of teachers. Constraints caused by limitations of financial resources and by demands for the expansion of facilities would indicate the necessity for careful analysis of the relative financial costs of different kinds of teachers in relation to their output.

Thus, the planner is faced with competing sets of goals to which relative priorities must be assigned. He must assign both order and magnitude to the importance of such things as the different types of socialization in the schools, degree of innovation, quality and variety of academic training, continuity of teaching staff, and the expense of teachers. Having made some decisions about these, the planner must then decide what mixture of the types of teachers available will provide the closest approximation to the desired goals.

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[8] The range of possible strategies extends from ideologically dominated institutions where the major emphasis is placed on molding of attitudes, to a situation where the entire effort is directed at the society outside of the schools and no attempt is made to use the schools at all.

The rankings of the teachers on various goal related dimensions indicates that the choice of teacher types will be fairly difficult since groups tend to be high on some dimensions and low on others. Thus, for instance, the Missionaries are very low on socialization potential, yet are high on continuity of service, have a low cost to the country, and are quite productive in terms of average teaching load. In contrast, the Peace Corps Volunteers are fairly high on socialization potential, have a fairly low average teaching load, are low on continuity, and have a fairly low cost to the country. Similar contrasts exist for the other types of teachers. Because of these profiles there will be definite differences in the desirability of alternative mixtures depending on the hierarchy of goals chosen.[9] The purpose of this study was, in part, to provide at least preliminary outlines of the teacher profiles to enable planners to begin making more effective use of teacher resources.

In the past, the efforts devoted to analysis of teachers have been focused on the questions of direct financial cost, terms of service, and level of academic training which characterized different kinds of teachers. Yet, the growing understanding of the process of development which has resulted from the efforts of social scientists in many disciplines, indicates that some of the key aspects of development have to do with political, social, and cultural variables. For a variety of historical and economic reasons, these kinds of variables seem to be receiving little or no attention in the development plans for education. Because of the author's concern about the effect of these omissions on the impact which education was having in the country, the study of teacher characteristics has concentrated largely on measures relating to attitudes and values considered relevant to the problem of national development.

The results suggest that there are significant differences in attitudes and values between different types of teachers and that these differences lead the teachers to view their role in a school in divergent ways. Knowledge of the comparative differences among teachers opens the possibility of selecting and using teachers to promote some of the attitudinal and value oriented goals for development. The information also helps to highlight the probable effects of the current patterns of teacher utilization in contrast to what would be possible if strategies were developed which included explicit consideration of the national socialization role of the schools. Hopefully, the results of this study will provide a first step in the development of such strategies by increasing the awareness of the potential gains, and by increasing the concerns about the costs of the present default strategies.

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[9] When stated in this form, the problem is theoretically reducible to a problem in resource allocation which is solvable by modern methods of operations research. While the precision of the information is not yet adequate to justify solutions of this nature, attempts to begin applying such techniques would have valuable consequences for the planning process.

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APPENDIX A

DETAILS OF FACTOR ANALYSIS AND CONSTRUCTION OF SCALES

APPENDIX A

TABLE A.1

LOADING OF EIGHTY VARIABLES ON THE ROTATED AND UNROTATED FACTOR MATRIX

		I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	
		R[a]	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
POPUGNDA	1	.10	.31	.09	.13	-.04	-.02	.05	.04	-.09	-.16	.03	.03	-.13	-.09	.03	.04	.04	-.11	.22	.22
SCREV	2	.05	.12	-.01	-.04	.09	.20	.07	.06	.06	-.05	-.06	.13	.14	-.10	-.01	-.02	.02	.14	.28	.35
PCAPINC	3	.06	.10	-.06	-.01	-.03	.16	-.02	.16	-.05	-.14	.02	.20	.04	-.09	.03	.02	.05	.14	.59	.23
AGRUGD	4	.24	.53	.12	.00	.17	.09	.02	-.15	-.02	-.15	-.06	-.00	-.03	-.08	-.08	.29	-.28	-.02	.22	-.13
INDEV	5	.28	.47	.08	-.05	-.13	.13	-.02	-.05	-.00	-.23	-.07	.14	.03	-.05	.12	.31	-.23	.04	.30	-.10
CONSTTN	6	.17	.46	-.08	-.03	.22	.17	.01	.11	-.17	-.06	-.00	.26	.61	.18	-.01	-.03	-.08	.10	.06	-.00
LEGPROC	7	.19	.58	-.14	-.05	-.24	.07	.06	.14	-.12	-.06	.03	.25	.49	.06	.06	.06	-.12	.00	.05	-.04
LOCGOV	8	.30	.68	.11	.06	-.36	-.05	.04	-.15	-.11	-.03	-.01	.00	.13	.11	.02	.09	-.23	-.06	-.06	-.05
EDSYS	9	.22	.55	.02	.02	-.20	.13	-.05	-.08	-.09	-.04	.00	.00	.10	-.08	-.00	.06	-.05	.08	.17	-.00
LANGAFR	10	.32	.31	-.03	-.05	-.02	.13	.02	-.09	.16	.27	-.00	-.09	.21	-.28	-.01	.02	.11	.17	-.04	-.16
TOTCHLD	11	-.11	-.13	.04	.14	.08	.11	-.03	.01	-.21	-.27	.06	-.03	.06	.07	-.08	-.10	.02	-.04	.01	-.26
ADTIME	12	.03	.22	.07	.23	.01	.36	.06	.14	-.73	-.33	.03	-.30	.10	.27	.07	-.13	.01	.01	.03	.02
TOTTIME	13	.01	.14	.06	.27	.08	.44	.04	.12	-.80	-.34	.00	-.33	.07	.28	-.02	-.15	.02	-.04	.07	-.05
ACTSTRT	14	.15	.17	.05	.18	-.08	.28	.11	.09	-.16	.17	-.08	-.23	-.02	.12	.02	-.06	-.04	.03	.04	-.03
SOCLUB	15	.08	.04	-.00	.19	-.13	-.15	.06	.19	-.02	.36	-.00	-.20	-.09	-.05	.03	-.12	.70	.17	.00	.20
ARGPLP	16	-.01	.50	-.14	-.03	-.18	-.10	-.00	.18	-.08	-.30	.04	.06	.05	-.13	.07	-.23	-.06	-.07	.10	.16
TOTPAP	17	.04	.56	-.07	.07	-.16	-.01	.06	.15	-.11	-.34	.05	.10	.16	-.14	-.01	-.24	-.07	-.14	.09	.12
FRQRAD	18	.02	.45	.20	.16	-.46	-.29	.21	-.04	-.01	-.02	.03	.03	-.02	.10	.05	.06	-.17	-.10	.09	.08
RADUGD	19	.03	.50	.09	.05	-.43	-.42	.13	-.02	.10	.06	-.01	.02	.02	.00	.06	.00	.01	-.07	.01	.17
LOCOFL	20	.35	.38	.04	.14	-.11	.30	.19	-.06	-.13	.13	.03	-.03	.04	.04	-.07	-.06	-.15	.06	.02	-.04
FRQDSC	21	.09	.15	.03	.27	.13	.26	.18	.24	-.09	-.06	.15	.15	.32	-.07	.07	.08	.01	-.07	.04	-.07
NOTDSC	22	-.08	-.07	.07	.09	-.01	-.00	-.01	.17	.07	.16	-.09	.16	.16	.22	.06	.32	.06	-.09	-.00	-.00
EXPMOE	23	.09	.42	-.17	-.08	-.69	-.18	-.07	.19	-.02	.23	.03	.08	.06	.32	.06	-.13	.08	.16	.08	-.15
INFLMOE	24	.10	.55	-.08	-.03	-.77	.27	-.03	.08	-.00	.25	.00	.04	.03	.31	-.04	-.16	.05	.03	.00	-.12
TRYINFL	25	.13	.47	.04	.15	-.56	-.14	.07	.09	.03	.20	.03	.12	.06	.27	-.05	-.10	-.00	-.03	-.06	-.08

[a] R = Rotated Matrix, U = Unrotated Matrix

TABLE A.1 cont.

		I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	
		R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
TCHINFO	26	.07	.17	.02	.09	-.12	-.06	.02	.03	-.06	-.02	-.04	.16	.02	.15	.03	.16	-.31	-.23	-.06	-.06
DSCLSS	27	.18	.35	.11	.34	-.14	.15	.18	.19	-.06	.02	.11	.20	.14	.07	.06	.14	-.10	-.11	.04	-.06
EXPOPN	28	.04	.15	.11	.24	-.08	-.03	.10	.12	-.07	.02	-.00	.16	-.07	.19	-.02	.15	-.01	-.23	.03	.11
PARSCH	29	.06	-.23	.52	.26	.14	.03	-,05	-.38	.12	.04	.13	.17	.11	.09	-.12	.18	.03	.23	.20	.25
ADQPAR	30	-.03	.14	.65	.44	-.11	-.20	.04	-.30	-.04	-.15	.03	-.11	-.04	.21	.04	.22	-.03	-.01	-.09	.10
PUPDSAT	31	-.08	.07	.52	.41	-.06	-.08	-.03	-.29	-.13	-.13	.12	-.14	-.13	.16	-.01	.18	-.04	-.04	-,08	-.00
SATPRFS	32	.00	-.09	.68	.44	.10	.10	-.01	-.38	-.16	-.06	.04	-.13	.07	.26	-.04	.18	-.02	.10	-.06	.23
DEMORG	33	-.05	.09	.24	.36	-.10	-.32	.02	-.18	.02	-.01	.14	-.02	.01	-.06	.03	.04	-.05	.06	-.13	-.14
TCHINFL	34	.02	.05	.12	.31	-.10	-.06	-.01	.05	-.23	.05	.08	-.07	-.12	-.06	.09	-.10	.12	.16	-.20	-.15
CHGSYL	35	.10	.07	-.01	.20	.11	.40	.08	.09	-.18	-.10	.09	-.07	-.01	-.06	-.01	-.10	.01	.16	.05	-.15
CHGSCH	36	.26	.22	.20	.29	-.06	.33	.10	-.11	-.32	.02	.09	-.13	.01	.19	-.10	-.10	-.07	.02	-.13	-.09
PUBSCH	37	-.06	-.06	.11	.39	-.00	-.16	.13	-.02	.01	-.11	.53	.30	.20	-.08	-.02	-.23	.00	.15	-.00	-.01
SCHCOM	38	.06	.09	.08	.26	-.07	-.17	.14	-.02	.07	.07	.10	.00	-.07	-.03	.06	-.12	.03	.16	-.04	.09
SATRLTN	39	-.15	.01	.32	.54	-.01	.01	.07	-.09	-.12	.04	.20	-.16	.06	-.07	-.08	-.19	.24	.16	.04	.15
SCHISO	40	.01	-.00	.14	.38	-.00	-.14	.09	-.02	.08	.00	.24	.18	.09	-.13	.01	-.07	.13	.18	.08	.08
COMACT	41	.13	.17	.03	.09	-.10	.10	-.01	.04	-.13	.17	-.07	-.20	-.02	.12	.07	.01	.06	.14	-.10	-.07
UNVSTDS	42	.08	.12	-.01	.08	-.26	-.23	-.03	.00	-.06	.00	.28	.03	.04	.04	.11	-.14	.06	.14	-.17	-.18
QLTWNED	43	-.10	.14	-.26	-.12	-.10	-.13	-.01	.26	.09	-.08	-.06	.11	.16	-.06	.08	-.14	.04	-.03	-.12	-.02
BRKLWS	44	.05	.37	-.00	-.10	-.37	-.38	.11	-.02	.07	-.05	-.02	-.04	.01	.02	.09	-.07	-.05	-.05	-.15	-.05
CONCLSS	45	-.12	-.20	.03	.44	.09	.14	.17	.27	-.07	.28	.11	.18	.10	.12	-.08	.11	.16	-.12	.12	.03
PRFELCT	46	-.03	-.04	.04	.32	.02	-.20	.07	.02	.11	.13	.10	.04	-.01	-.22	.06	.09	.04	.06	.06	-.13
COMCHNL	47	-.10	-.09	.46	.36	.05	-.19	.02	-.29	.08	-.04	.11	-.02	-.07	-.06	-.06	.21	.05	-.04	.01	.04
GOVPROG	48	.06	.35	-.03	-.28	-.40	-.23	-.09	.10	.05	-.05	-.19	-.02	.09	.17	.19	-.01	.07	.16	.06	.14
STRGOV	49	.10	.17	-.03	-.20	-.20	.07	-.18	.06	.10	-.01	-.04	.25	.26	.27	.04	-.02	-.08	.16	.05	.08
PRSFDM	50	.04	.29	.08	-.08	-.29	-.18	-.07	-.05	.05	-.14	.03	.09	.10	.18	.08	-.07	-.16	.03	-.13	.01

TABLE A.1 cont.

		I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII		VIII		IX		X	
		R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
SYLREV	51	-.05	.17	-.01	.28	-.16	-.22	.04	-.08	.02	-.14	.44	.09	-.19	-.03	.03	-.18	-.19	.08	-.15	-.28
POLED	52	-.04	.02	.04	.26	-.09	-.19	.02	.06	.05	.13	.14	.12	-.06	.18	-.02	-.01	.05	-.06	-.15	-.03
PPLJOB	53	-.04	-.04	-.07	.20	.22	.29	-.04	.13	-.02	.01	.11	.09	.07	-.06	.01	-.02	-.02	.06	.07	-.00
CRCREL	54	-.14	-.14	.10	.46	.16	.02	-.06	-.13	.04	-.12	.66	.24	.03	-.28	-.07	-.09	.02	.18	.11	-.22
EXMREL	55	.06	.-3	.15	.45	-.11	-.17	.07	-.08	-.09	-.10	.62	.20	-.06	.01	.02	-.19	.02	.19	-.04	-.16
PRNTKNW	56	.00	-.12	.03	.25	.11	.24	.28	.36	.03	.17	.03	-.00	.16	-.10	.12	.09	.36	.12	.12	.03
AREASTD	57	.07	.27	-.10	.04	-.03	.08	-.02	.04	-.02	-.04	.00	-.07	-.05	-.25	-.05	.08	-.03	-.32	-.04	-.33
NOBKSRD	58	.15	.30	.08	.26	-.00	.27	.24	.19	-.04	.00	.05	.05	-.00	-.10	.03	.06	.01	-.11	.18	.10
TOTLANG	59	.13	.48	.12	.09	-.18	-.28	-.01	-.19	.04	.09	.12	-.20	-.11	-.20	.00	-.08	.09	-.12	-.19	.09
PPLBKGD	60	.66	.37	-.06	-.07	-.00	.44	-.07	-.07	-.10	.23	-.07	.04	.04	-.06	.01	.14	-.02	.18	.18	-.06
PARATTD	61	.72	.51	-.08	-.16	-.12	.20	-.02	-.17	.09	.34	-.06	.08	.07	-.12	-.07	.05	.06	.13	-.01	-.04
POLSTR	62	.20	.67	.02	.10	-.14	-.05	.03	-.07	.01	.10	.00	-.05	.11	-.19	.02	.16	.04	-.15	-.08	.04
CULSTR	63	.26	.64	.08	.16	-.12	.03	.05	-.08	-.08	.12	-.02	-.18	.04	-.18	.04	.15	.06	-.10	-.06	-.00
NOAFRN	64	.21	.63	.03	-.05	-.18	.05	-.01	-.05	.01	-.01	-.16	-.15	.09	-.12	.01	-.04	.01	-.02	-.06	.07
NOASNS	65	.17	.40	.02	-.17	-.13	.10	-.12	-.18	.13	-.14	-.12	.14	.17	.02	-.08	-.02	-.34	.01	-.05	-.07
METPRNT	66	.62	.69	-.07	-.20	-.20	.24	-.07	-.15	-.09	.13	-.08	.01	.07	.01	-.09	-.11	-.01	.09	-.03	.09
VSTHOME	67	.64	.60	-.05	-.18	-.16	.19	-.06	-.20	.01	.19	-.01	.04	.07	-.05	-.09	-.06	.02	.14	-.00	.02
UGDSYL	68	-.12	.01	-.01	.38	-.02	-.13	.17	.25	-.01	.03	.27	.00	-.13	-.08	.12	-.09	.13	-.05	-.06	-.01
PLYGMY	69	-.12	-.17	-.00	.35	.14	.13	.51	.26	-.06	.07	.10	.14	.15	-.04	.04	.11	-.14	-.15	.14	-.00
BRDPRC	70	-.06	.07	-.06	.27	-.05	-.08	.55	.24	-.10	.18	-.02	-.15	-.12	-.07	-.02	-.14	.09	-.25	-.01	.18
INICER	71	.02	.10	.04	.35	-.02	-.04	.50	.17	-.01	.13	.10	-.01	.03	-.08	-.02	-.09	.06	-.17	-.18	-.01
EXTFMY	72	-.03	-.01	-.00	.18	-.05	.00	.51	.26	.00	.08	.02	.03	.00	-.00	.07	.01	.05	.00	.09	.11
SATPROD	73	-.15	-.24	.36	.52	.22	.15	.06	-.23	-.06	-.04	.45	.05	-.05	-.09	-.18	-.08	.07	.09	.10	.09
PPLNTL	74	-.12	.20	-.08	.07	-.16	-.18	.10	.48	-.08	-.02	-.08	-.37	.02	-.08	.60	.17	.22	.23	-.01	-.02
PPLCLVR	75	-.10	.22	.06	.05	-.19	-.25	.11	.30	.01	-.12	.01	-.37	-.14	-.06	.58	.14	.19	.22	-.14	-.01
PPLLZY	76	-.04	-.07	-.11	-.01	.04	-.09	.02	.37	-.07	-.11	.03	-.00	-.02	.06	.51	.23	-.07	.24	.18	.08
PPLHNST	77	.04	.12	-.01	.07	-.07	-.29	.08	.25	.20	-.04	.23	.12	.05	-.15	.43	.24	.04	.17	.08	-.07
PPLQST	78	.06	.12	.06	-.15	-.12	-.21	-.19	.04	.04	-.21	-.12	-.09	.04	.04	.41	.24	-.08	.22	-.11	-.15
PPLAMB	79	-.04	-.06	-.11	-.08	.15	-.03	-.05	.30	-.04	-.24	-.04	-.00	.09	-.01	.52	.25	-.16	.26	.02	-.01
MNSTRKN	80	.27	.59	.00	-.05	-.04	.07	-.08	-.01	-.12	-.26	.00	-.00	.04	-.12	.07	-.05	-.02	.00	.10	.20

TABLE A.1 cont.

		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII		XVIII		XIX		XX	
		R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
POPUGNDA	1	-.13	-.20	-.35	.04	-.01	.03	.07	.03	.17	-.13	.04	.08	-.13	-.05	-.06	.04	-.02	.07	-.03	-.08
SCREV	2	.06	.06	-.15	-.10	-.15	-.08	-.18	.08	.10	.06	.08	-.00	-.00	-.11	.02	-.10	.20	.11	-.18	.02
PCAPINC	3	.00	-.07	-.15	.16	-.00	.23	.02	.16	-.05	-.03	.02	.02	-.06	-.02	.04	.09	.01	.22	.03	-.16
ARGUGD	4	.07	.11	-.10	.11	.03	.07	.15	.19	.43	-.09	-.06	-.02	.12	.02	-.08	-.09	.06	.13	.21	.04
INDDEV	5	-.02	-.04	-.13	.09	-.05	.14	.15	.23	.30	-.11	.00	.07	.00	-.01	-.18	.07	.12	.07	.31	.10
CONSTTN	6	-.05	.11	-.14	.01	-.04	.10	-.06	-.20	.18	.32	.01	.05	.03	.06	-.02	-.11	.02	-.07	.04	.06
LEGPROC	7	-.07	.09	-.14	.12	-.08	-.03	.04	-.15	.38	.26	.03	.10	.01	.09	-.11	-.15	-.05	-.03	.02	.08
LOCGOV	8	-.02	.15	-.19	.05	.06	-.06	.05	-.07	.42	.04	.02	.07	.05	.05	.03	-.00	-.11	.02	-.06	-.04
EDSYS	9	.07	-.02	-.16	.02	.02	-.05	.05	.11	.45	.11	.01	.02	.08	-.02	-.04	-.17	.18	.14	-.04	-.06
LANGAFR	10	.18	.12	-.09	-.11	.30	.26	-.02	-.25	.17	.10	-.38	-.22	.13	-.17	.27	.05	.09	.02	.03	-.03
TOTCHLD	11	.02	-.10	.02	.08	.05	.37	.12	.08	-.13	.04	.07	.08	-.05	.10	.06	.11	.01	-.00	.59	.28
ADTIME	12	-.00	-.02	-.12	.16	-.11	.01	.-1	-.16	.08	.03	-.02	.11	.11	.07	.03	-.12	.06	.01	.03	-.07
TOTTIME	13	-.03	-.06	-.11	.12	-.01	.19	.00	-.18	.03	.01	-.07	.11	.08	.06	.12	-.07	.09	.11	.19	-.03
ACTSTRT	14	.00	.22	.02	-.07	-.01	.06	.03	.02	.03	.00	-.00	-.06	.06	-.07	.67	.41	.08	.23	.05	.08
SOCLUB	15	-.13	-.41	.01	.06	.09	.14	-.03	.06	.04	.06	.17	.14	-.03	.03	-.03	-.08	-.00	-.05	-.01	.06
ARGPLP	16	.02	-.04	-.67	-.12	.03	.04	.04	-.02	.11	-.06	.01	-.14	.08	.05	-.04	.01	.01	-.01	-.08	-.17
TOTPAP	17	.00	-.05	-.72	-.14	.05	.15	.13	-.00	.12	.02	.05	-.06	-.05	-.02	.04	.11	.06	-.07	.07	-.06
FRQRAD	18	.03	.21	-.18	.13	.10	.01	.06	.12	.21	-.04	-.00	-.04	.02	-.08	-.08	-.07	-.12	.01	-.13	-.18
RADUGD	19	.00	.08	-.27	.09	.11	.04	-.06	.01	.32	.03	.07	.01	-.02	.04	-.08	-.05	-.25	.03	-.08	-.03
LOCOFL	20	.03	.24	-.09	.01	-.01	-.00	.03	.03	.10	-.21	.02	-.10	.41	.12	.11	-.07	.06	-.09	-.02	-.03
FRQDSC	21	-.22	-.02	-.15	-.01	.00	.07	.22	-.21	.02	.12	-.18	-.09	-.06	-.16	.19	.15	.12	-.11	.04	.04
NOTDSC	22	-.48	-.17	.15	-.08	.00	.04	-.02	-.12	.02	.06	-.14	-.15	.06	.05	-.05	-.10	.01	.01	.03	.07
EXPMOE	23	-.08	-.04	.04	.18	-.08	.02	.01	.20	.09	.04	.02	-.10	.15	.05	.04	-.03	-.00	.12	.03	-.06
INFLMOE	24	-.07	-.03	-.10	.10	.05	.08	.02	.15	.15	.06	-.04	-.12	.08	-.04	.07	-.01	-.02	.11	-.02	-.13
TRYINFL	25	-.22	-.04	-.15	-.10	.01	.01	.05	.14	.10	.02	.05	-.07	-.01	-.13	.16	.09	.14	.04	-.01	-.02

TABLE A.1 cont.

		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII		XVIII		XIX		XX	
		R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
TCHINFO	26	-.27	.05	-.06	-.16	.13	-.13	.11	-.07	.04	-.02	.04	.15	-.19	-.05	.02	.12	-.00	.03	-.20	-.22
DSCLSS	27	-.36	-.06	-.17	-.09	.01	-.07	.29	.06	.07	-.04	.03	-.04	.05	-.08	.03	.04	.20	-.15	-.09	-.11
EXPOPN	28	-.52	-.23	-.16	-.05	-.03	-.00	.06	-.02	.01	-.21	.04	-.02	.06	.10	-.15	-.08	-.05	-.07	-.01	-.03
PARSCH	29	-.03	.02	.16	.04	.08	.17	-.21	-.07	-.17	.01	-.01	-.06	-.02	-.08	.04	.06	-.07	-.00	-.02	-.00
ADQPAR	30	-.13	-.04	-.12	-.07	.10	.16	-.03	.05	.09	-.03	.09	-.05	-.02	-.02	.02	.08	-.04	-.09	.22	.17
PUPDSAT	31	-.11	-.09	.00	.02	.03	-.06	.07	.07	.15	-.02	.02	-.10	.07	-.01	-.05	-.05	.05	-.03	.03	.01
SATPRFS	32	-.01	.08	.12	-.03	-.04	-.10	-.05	-.02	-.02	.12	.14	.01	-.00	-.05	.14	.11	.02	-.12	-.14	.01
DEMORG	33	-.04	.09	-.09	-.26	.58	.23	-.09	-.10	.06	.01	.09	.05	.04	.09	-.04	-.09	.00	.02	.05	-.16
TCHINFL	34	-.17	-.19	.04	-.14	.17	-.08	.06	-.04	.04	.02	.06	.15	-.12	-.11	.07	.01	.19	.02	-.06	-.10
CHGSYL	35	.01	-.06	-.05	-.28	.03	-.03	-.01	.12	.02	-.04	-.03	-.00	.05	-.27	.09	-.17	.64	.08	.04	.00
CHGSCH	36	-.01	.04	-.01	-.05	-.07	-.12	.09	.00	.02	-.05	.02	.06	.07	-.15	.17	.03	.26	-.10	-.08	-.05
PUBSCH	37	.01	.09	-.09	.10	.12	.00	-.04	-.17	-.15	.03	.13	.04	-.06	-.02	.00	.06	-.09	-.11	-.03	-.03
SCHCOM	38	-.00	.12	-.09	-.17	.16	.03	-.16	.12	.02	-.13	.43	.16	.11	.21	.09	.03	-.02	.01	.08	.14
SATRLTN	39	.12	.06	-.04	-.07	.18	.00	.05	.15	.08	.26	.32	-.01	.11	.09	.29	.09	.11	.04	-.11	-.04
SCHISO	40	-.00	-.02	.01	-.02	.14	-.01	.08	.22	.00	.09	.54	.28	-.03	.20	-.07	.02	.01	-.11	.03	.05
COMACT	41	-.07	.05	.00	-.06	.11	.03	-.01	-.01	.01	-.14	.02	-.19	.54	.32	-.01	-.18	.01	-.13	-.04	-.11
UNVSTDS	42	.09	-.05	-.02	.14	.07	-.08	.09	-.08	-.07	.03	.00	.10	-.11	-.10	-.11	.03	-.05	-.17	-.08	-.15
QLTWNED	43	-.06	-.10	-.25	-.30	.04	-.05	-.02	.00	.02	.15	.08	.07	-.17	-.10	-.07	-.06	.22	-.05	-.05	.00
BRKLWS	44	.14	.11	-.24	.07	.07	.12	-.03	-.02	.11	-.04	-.02	.04	-.07	-.04	-.12	-.00	-.19	-.11	.13	.07
CONCLSS	45	-.53	-.10	.22	-.03	.12	.03	.09	-.06	-.07	.06	.08	-.04	.08	.13	.18	.02	.02	.10	-.09	-.04
PRFELCT	46	-.09	.07	.02	-.20	.60	.26	.04	-.01	.00	.02	.13	.10	.02	.13	.07	.01	-.01	.10	.02	-.20
COMCHNL	47	-.06	-.09	.02	-.04	.26	.13	.04	.01	.06	.05	-.06	-.05	-.08	-.12	-.12	-.07	.02	-.03	.00	-.08
GOVPROG	48	.10	-.05	-.19	.02	-.15	.06	-.14	.09	.09	.08	.01	.02	-.12	-.10	-.05	.02	-.02	.02	.05	.08
STRGOV	49	-.10	-.02	-.06	-.02	-.34	-.09	-.11	.01	-.07	.08	.03	-.12	.00	.00	.12	.17	.01	-.02	.03	.16
PRSFDM	50	.06	.06	-.19	.00	-.20	.16	.01	.06	.04	.06	.10	-.00	-.10	-.06	-.00	.14	-.03	-.12	-.02	.06

TABLE A.1 cont.

		XI		XII		XIII		XIV		XV		XVI		XVII		XVIII		XIX		XX	
		R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
SYLREV	51	-.04	.02	-.08	-.09	.05	-.18	-.18	-.00	.22	-.18	.08	-.01	-.03	-.09	.06	-.07	.19	.26	.19	.20
POLED	52	-.45	-.16	-.03	-.22	.10	.01	-.25	-.18	.04	-.12	.06	-.01	-.07	.03	.14	.03	.01	.19	.12	.20
PPLJOB	53	-.19	-.00	.01	-.10	-.10	-.18	.10	.07	.05	.00	.23	-.14	.32	.32	.20	.06	.11	.04	-.01	.08
CRCREL	54	.00	-.09	.10	.15	.10	-.16	.09	-.02	.12	.08	.01	-.13	.05	-.02	.00	-.08	.16	.14	.02	-.02
EXMREL	55	-.08	-.09	-.03	.18	.06	-.06	-.05	-.11	-.07	-.19	.09	.06	-.04	-.06	-.08	-.01	-.02	-.03	.08	.01
PRNTKNW	56	-.13	-.10	.11	.07	-.06	.10	.24	.14	-.14	.07	-.03	-.12	.17	-.09	.01	-.08	.23	-.25	.04	.07
AREASTD	57	.00	-.13	-.11	.17	.05	.02	.65	.20	.22	.10	-.02	-.01	-.01	.10	.03	.20	-.05	-.13	.16	-.06
NOBKSRD	58	-.16	-.04	-.20	.03	-.16	-.09	.31	.19	.12	-.07	.03	-.08	.05	-.12	.16	.12	.19	-.06	-.06	-.01
TOTLANG	59	.08	-.03	-.35	.11	.08	-.11	.05	-.21	.40	.00	-.10	-.11	.00	.03	.12	.14	-.31	.00	-.14	-.03
PPLBKGD	60	-.01	-.07	.06	.02	.00	-.02	.13	.01	.12	-.10	.00	.23	.00	-.06	.12	.13	.14	.02	-.09	-.14
PARATTD	61	.02	-.09	-.04	.02	-.01	-.00	.04	-.04	.23	-.10	.03	.25	-.04	-.05	.01	.07	.02	-.09	-.02	.03
POLSTR	62	-.11	-.09	-.20	.01	-.01	-.22	.06	-.11	.78	.22	.03	.08	-.07	.03	.03	-.11	-.02	.16	-.08	.17
CULSTR	63	-.05	-.06	-.18	.01	.07	-.13	.11	-.08	.68	.14	.00	.06	.02	.02	.10	-.06	.00	.12	-.05	.10
NOAFRN	64	.09	.02	-.44	-.18	.02	.04	.04	.02	.37	.06	-.02	-.15	.17	.03	.11	-.00	.10	-.03	.02	.05
NOASNS	65	.10	.17	-.29	-.24	-.06	.00	.02	.13	.12	-.01	.08	-.16	.22	.12	.02	.02	.13	-.10	.11	.07
METPRNT	66	.03	-.09	-.34	.01	-.16	-.05	-.04	-.09	.25	-.18	.00	.04	.19	.08	-.04	-.02	-.02	-.13	-.05	.00
VSTHOME	67	.06	-.06	-.24	.06	-.08	.06	-.07	-.13	.22	-.18	-.06	.03	.16	.04	.02	.03	-.07	-.08	.05	.07
UGDSYL	68	-.23	-.09	-.11	.01	.02	-.13	.14	.02	.00	-.11	.15	-.06	.06	.08	.11	.09	-.01	-.02	-.03	.02
PLYGMY	69	-.11	.40	.23	.13	.08	.03	.13	.01	-.04	.02	.11	.12	.02	.01	.14	.00	-.06	-.00	-.01	.05
BRDPRC	70	-.01	.26	-.02	.09	.04	.01	-.00	.03	.12	-.07	.18	.22	-.11	-.07	.22	.05	-.14	.08	-.05	.13
INICER	71	-.09	.16	-.08	-.04	.07	.01	.09	.00	.04	-.08	.10	.08	.05	-.07	-.00	-.12	.05	-.22	.02	.14
EXTFMY	72	-.07	.19	.00	-.02	.03	.12	-.18	-.01	-.04	-.18	-.12	-.01	.04	-.28	-.09	-.30	-.19	-.01	-.00	.08
SATPROD	73	.02	-.00	.14	.17	-.06	-.20	.06	.04	.01	.04	.07	-.17	.16	-.00	.06	-.05	.08	.01	-.16	-.04
PPLNTL	74	.05	.06	-.07	.02	.08	-.05	.14	.02	.14	.09	-.02	-.11	.16	.05	.12	.03	.03	-.04	-.06	-.05
PPLCLVR	75	.11	-.00	-.16	.06	-.05	-.12	.02	.01	.17	-.06	-.07	-.12	.05	-.10	-.01	-.01	.02	-.08	.04	.11
PPLLZY	76	-.14	.10	.05	.02	.01	-.08	.16	-.17	-.09	-.14	-.00	.06	-.06	.04	.11	.14	-.10	.18	-.09	-.08
PPLHNST	77	-.13	-.00	-.08	.19	.05	.08	.03	-.19	.03	-.15	-.17	-.14	.00	.00	-.00	.14	-.24	-.03	.16	.09
PPLQST	78	.11	-.05	-.01	-.13	.05	-.04	.07	.09	.03	.-8	.11	.21	-.22	-.06	-.12	.10	.10	-.11	.10	.01
PPLAMB	79	-.03	.11	.01	-.15	.00	-.19	-.05	-.06	-.07	-.05	.14	.11	.04	.12	-.10	-.02	.07	-.06	-.10	-.08
MNSTRKN	80	-.03	-.16	-.60	-.06	-.08	.04	-.05	-.15	.27	-.12	-.04	-.04	.02	.03	-.00	.06	-.02	.02	.06	.03

TABLE A.2

THE EIGENVALUES AND CUMULATIVE PROPORTION OF TOTAL VARIANCE OF 20 FACTORS EXTRACTED DURING FACTOR ANALYSIS

FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	CUMULATIVE PROPORTION OF TOTAL VARIANCE
1.	8.53	.11
2.	4.52	.16
3.	3.25	.20
4.	2.57	.24
5.	1.96	.26
6.	1.74	.28
7.	1.68	.30
8.	1.55	.32
9.	1.43	.34
10.	1.30	.36
11.	1.21	.37
12.	1.08	.38
13.	1.06	.40
14.	1.03	.41
15.	.96	.42
16.	.94	.43
17.	.89	.45
18.	.86	.46
19.	.84	.47
20.	.78	.48

TABLE A.3

EXAMPLE OF FACTOR SCORE CALCULATION FOR SCALE 5

```
COMPUTE     CT5 =  0
COMPUTE     SM5 = 2.708
COMPUTE     FEDREL = 0
IF          (ZCRCREL EQ  0 ) CT5  = CT5 + 1
IF          (ZCRCREL EQ 0 ) SM5 = SM5 - 0.665
IF          (ZCRCREL NE 0 ) FEDREL = FEDREL + ZCRCREL * 0.665
IF          (ZEXMREL EQ 0 ) CT5 = CT5 + 1
IF          (ZEXMREL EQ 0 ) SM5 = SM5 - 0.625
IF          (ZEXMREL NE 0 ) FEDREL = FEDREL + ZEXMREL * 0.625
IF          (ZPUBSCH EQ 0 ) CT5 = CT5 + 1
IF          (ZPUBSCH EQ 0 ) SM5 = SM5 - 0.528
IF          (ZPUBSCH NE 0 ) FEDREL = FEDREL + ZPUBSCH * 0.528
IF          (ZSYLREV EQ 0 ) CT5 = CT5 + 1
IF          (ZSYLREV EQ 0 ) SM5 = SM5 - 0.443
IF          (ZSYLREV NE 0 ) FEDREL = FEDREL + ZSYLREV * 0.433
IF          (ZSATPROD EQ 0 ) CT5 = CT5 + 1
IF          (ZSATPROD EQ 0 ) SM5 = SM5 - 0.447
IF          (ZSATPROD NE 0 ) FEDREL = FEDREL + ZSATPROD * 0.447
IF          (CT5 LT 2 ) FEDREL = FEDREL / SM5
IF          (CT5 GE 2 ) FEDREL = 99
```

CT5 is a counter which keeps track of the number of questions answered

SM5 is a sum consisting of the weights of all the questions included in the scale. It has an initial value equal to the sum of the weights for all the questions. When a particular question is not answered and therefore not included in the scale, the weight for that question is subtracted from the total of SM5

The last two statements test the value of CT5. If CT5 is less than (LT) 2, a value of the scale is computed and assigned to FEDREL which is the name of the scale. If CT5 is greater than (GT) 2, the scale is not computed and the value 99 is assigned to FEDREL. (99 is a missing value)

TABLE A.4

CORRELATION MATRIX OF SCALE SCORES FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

	Scale 1	Scale 2	Scale 3	Scale 4	Scale 5	Scale 6	Scale 7	Scale 8	Scale 9
Scale 1	1.00								
Scale 2	.41	1.00							
Scale 3	.10	.00	1.00						
Scale 4	-.09	-.09	.18	1.00					
Scale 5	-.06	-.02	.13	.38	1.00				
Scale 6	.51	.59	.05	.04	-.02	1.00			
Scale 7	.05	-.01	.21	.06	.13	.04	1.00		
Scale 8	.37	.43	-.07	-.11	-.15	.62	-.11	1.00	
Scale 9	.06	.04	.10	.27	.32	.10	.32	-.05	1.00

APPENDIX B

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON CHARACTERISTICS OF TEACHER GROUPS

APPENDIX B

TABLE B.1

TEACHING EXPERIENCE BEFORE ARRIVAL IN UGANDA BY TEACHER GROUP

YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE	BRITISH TRAINED	BRITISH TEA/VOL	BRITISH LOCAL	PEACE CORPS	MISSIONARIES	OTHERS	TOTAL
NONE	14% (18)*	68% (26)	9% (2)	10% (4)	32% (10)	13% (5)	22% (65)
LESS THAN 1 YEAR	11% (15)	16% (6)	30% (7)	78% (31)	10% (3)	13% (5)	22% (67)
1 TO 2 YEARS	7% (9)	5% (2)	9% (2)	10% (4)	7% (2)	5% (2)	7% (21)
2 TO 3 YEARS	17% (23)	5% (2)	13% (3)	2% (1)	3% (1)	8% (3)	11% (33)
3 TO 5 YEARS	16% (21)	3% (1)	13% (3)	0 0	3% (1)	10% (4)	10% (30)
5 TO 10 YEARS	20% (27)	3% (1)	17% (4)	0 0	19% (6)	29% (11)	16% (49)
OVER 10 YEARS	15% (19)	0 0	9% (2)	0 0	26% (8)	21% (8)	12% (37)
AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS FOR EACH GROUP	4.0 (132)	0.6 (38)	3.4 (23)	0.6 (40)	1.6 (31)	5.3 (38)	3.0 (302)

* Number of teachers in the group

TABLE B.2

FATHER'S OCCUPATION RATING BY TEACHER GROUP

	PROFESSIONAL	MANAGE-EXECUTIVE	SUPERVISORY HIGH	SUPERVISORY LOW	SKILLED MANUAL	SEMI-SKILLED MAUAL	UNSKILLED MANUAL
BRITISH TRAINED	8% (9)*	19% (23)	24% (28)	18% (22)	16% (19)	11% (13)	4% (5)
BRITISH TEA/VOL	19% (7)	28% (10)	25% (9)	3% (1)	17% (6)	8% (3)	0 0
BRITISH LOCAL	5% (1)	14% (3)	24% (5)	24% (5)	29% (6)	4% (1)	0 0
PEACE CORPS	28% (11)	22% (9)	27% (11)	10% (4)	5% (2)	8% (3)	0 0
MISSIONARIES	15% (4)	11% (3)	30% (8)	30% (8)	11% (3)	3% (1)	0 0
ASIANS	8% (2)	23% (6)	38% (10)	4% (1)	12% (3)	0 0	15% (4)
AFRICANS	3% (2)	11% (7)	16% (10)	3% (2)	5% (3)	0 0	62% (38)
MAKERERE	5% (1)	20% (4)	40% (8)	0 0	0 0	0 0	35% (7)
KYAMBOGO	3% (2)	10% (8)	18% (14)	9% (7)	5% (4)	1% (1)	53% (40)
OTHERS	3% (1)	18% (6)	20% (7)	26% (9)	18% (6)	9% (3)	6% (2)
TOTAL	9% (40)	17% (79)	24% (110)	13% (59)	11% (52)	5% (25)	21% (96)

* Number of teachers in the group

TABLE B.3

POPULATION OF CHILDHOOD RESIDENCE BY TEACHER GROUP

	FARM OR VILLAGE	5,000 - 20,000	20,000 - 100,000	OVER 100,000
BRITISH TRAINED	20% (27)*	21% (27)	26% (35)	33% (43)
BRITISH TEA/VOL	20% (7)	23% (8)	17% (6)	40% (14)
BRITISH LOCAL	17% (4)	35% (8)	26% (6)	22% (5)
PEACE CORPS	10% (4)	32% (13)	28% (11)	30% (12)
MISSIONARY	16% (5)	22% (7)	25% (8)	37% (12)
ASIANS	4% (2)	32% (15)	34% (16)	30% (14)
AFRICANS	64% (38)	24% (14)	10% (6)	2% (1)
MAKERERE	65% (13)	10% (2)	15% (3)	10% (2)
KYAMBOGO	62% (50)	22% (18)	12% (10)	4% (3)
OTHERS	31% (11)	17% (6)	14% (5)	38% (14)
TOTAL	32% (161)	23% (118)	21% (106)	24% (120)

* Number of teachers in the group

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

APPENDIX C

SECTION C.1

LIST OF EIGHTY ITEMS USED IN FACTOR ANALYSIS

No.	Item Name	Questionnaire Item or Scale Reference
1	POPUGNDA	Scale 2 *
2	SRCREV **	What is the single most important source of revenue for the central government of Uganda? ____________________________ ______ I don't know
3	PCAPINC	What is the approximate population of Uganda? _______________________million ______ I don't know
4	AGRUGD	Scale 6
		For each of the topics listed below please indicate how well informed you are on that subject by placing a number to the left of the topic. 1 = very well informed 2 = moderately well informed 3.= poorly informed 4 = very poorly informed
5	INDDEV	_____ industrial development in Uganda
6	CONSTTN	_____ the new constitution in Uganda
7	LEGPROC	_____ the legislative process in Uganda
8	LOCGOV	Scale 6
9	EDSYS	Scale 6
10	LANGAFR	Scale 9

* Items included in a scale are to be found with that scale in Appendix C.2

** Item failed to load at .30 or above on any Factor

Section C.1 cont.

11 TOTCHLD Total number of class periods taught per week

12 ADTIME Total number of hours spent, on the average, per week in administrative activities including Housemaster, Careers, Subject head, Bookstore, etc.

13 TOTTIME Total number of hours spent per week, on the average, in all out-of-class activities. This includes form master, administrative duties, supervisory duties, activities, sports, school trips, etc.

14 ACTSTRT Are there any activities or sports which you have been responsible for starting at your school or which you intend to start in the near future?

1. _____ Yes 2. _____ No

If YES, please indicate what the activity is:

____

15 SOCLUB About how frequently, on the average, do you visit the sports or social club in the town near your school?

1. _____ almost daily
2. _____ 2 or 3 times a week
3. _____ once a week or so
4. _____ almost never
5. _____ there is no club

16 ARGPLP Scale 2

17 TOTPAP Scale 2

18 FRQRAD Scale 1

19 RADUGD Scale 1

20 LOCOFL Do you ever have contact with the officials of the local government in your area?

1. _____ Yes 2. _____ No

If YES, what kinds of officials? _______________________

21 FRQDSC About how frequently do you discuss public affairs and matters of national interest in Uganda with other people?

22 NOTDSC Scale 3

23 EXPMOE Scale 1

24 INFLMOE Scale 1

Section C.1 cont.

25 TRYINFL Scale 1

26 TCHINFO How important do you think teachers are as a source of information for pupils about what is happening in Uganda?

1. _____ probably the single most important source
2. _____ about as important as radio and newspapers
3. _____ about as important as classmates and friends
4. _____ about as important as parents and other adults
5. _____ less important than any of the above sources

27 DSCLSS Scale 3

28 EXPOPN Scale 3

29 PARSCH Scale 4

30 ADQPAR Scale 4

31 PUPDSAT Scale 4

32 SATPRFS Scale 4

33 DEMORG Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

1. _____ pupils would benefit from a more democratic form of school organization in which they elected their own leaders and controlled their own affairs

2. _____ pupils get sufficient opportunity to practice the skills of self-government in their clubs and societies; there is no need for further opportunities on a school-wide basis

34 TCHINFL* As an individual teacher how frequently would you say that your own actions either in or out of class are directly effected as a result of pupil requests for change?

1. _____ very frequently
2. _____ frequently
3. _____ occasionally
4. _____ almost never

35 CHGSYL To what extent, if at all, have you made changes in the content and presentation of the syllabus in your subject?

1. _____ I have done extensive work in seeking out new references, writing new materials, and reorganizing the approach to the present syllabus

2. _____ I have done some work in writing new materials and creating new approaches to the syllabus

---

* Item failed to load at .30 or above on any Factor.

Section C.1 cont.

3. _____ I have made minor modifications of materials and approaches to the syllabus

4. _____ I have not felt the need to make any changes

36 CHGSCH Have you ever tried to initiate a change in some aspect of the organization or procedure of the school where you are now teaching? (e.g. punishment)

1. _____ Yes 2. _____ No

If YES, please indicate what you tried to change and how successful you think the attempt was.

CHANGE ATTEMPTED DEGREE OF SUCCESS

1. ______________________ ____High ____ Medium ____ Low

2. ______________________ ____High ____ Medium ____ Low

37 PUBSCH Scale 5

38 SCHCOM Scale 9

39 SATRLTN Scale 9

40 SCHISO Scale 9

41 COMACT Are you, or have you in the past year, been involved in any community activities outside the school: e.g. adult education, work camps, youth organizations, etc.?

1. _____ Yes 2. _____ No

If YES, please indicate what activities:

____

42 UNVSTDS* What statement do you agree with more?

1. _____ standards of university education in Uganda should be kept at a high, internationally defined and recognized level

2. _____ standards of university education in Uganda should be flexible and related to the needs and resources of Uganda

43 QLTWNED* Compared to the quality of education being received by the pupils in this school, my OWN secondary education was

1. _____ much worse 4. _____ slightly better

2. _____ slightly worse 5. _____ much better

3. _____ about the same

---

* Item failed to load at .30 or above on any Factor.

Section C.1 cont.

44	BRKLWS	Scale 1
45	CONCLSS	Scale 3
46	PRFELCT	If prefects were elected by the pupils, the confusion and the risk of unsuitable winners would more than offset any educational value there might be in the process of election. 1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD
47	COMCHNL	Scale 4
48	GOVPROG	Scale 1
49	STRGOV	A strong central government is the only way to avoid unnecessary duplication and waste of Uganda's limited resources. 1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD
50	PRSFDM*	Personal freedoms must sometimes be limited in the interests of security and good government. 1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD
51	SYLREV	Scale 5
52	POLED	Scale 3
53	PPLJOB	As a highly educated minority group, secondary school pupils have every right to expect jobs which do not require physical work. 1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD
54	CRCREL	Scale 5
55	EXMREL	Scale 5
56	PRNTKNW	Most of the pupils' parents have so little education that there is little of value which they can teach their children about life in modern Uganda. 1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD
57	AREASTD	Please indicate which of the following areas you have made some study of, i.e. know something about local history, or customs, or society. Use as many ticks as needed. Buganda ____ Ankole ____ Kigezi ____ Karamoja ____ Toro ____ Bunyoro ____ West Nile ____ Busoga ____ Acholi-Langi ____ Teso ____ Bugisu-Sebei ____

---

* Item failed to load at .30 or above on any Factor.

Section C.1 cont.

58 NOBKSRD Approximately how many books have you read which were concerned with East Africa or Uganda?

1. ____ one or two
2. ____ three to six
3. ____ six to twelve
4. ____ more than twelve

59 TOTLANG Scale 6

60 PPLBKGD Scale 8

61 PARATTD Scale 8

62 POLSTR Scale 6

63 CULSTR Scale 6

64 NOAFRN Scale 2

65 NOASNS For the communities listed below please indicate about how many people you know in each; i.e. you know something about them and have some feeling for them as individuals. (DO NOT INCLUDE pupils or servants)

ASIAN ____none; ____ 1-3; ____ 4-10; ____many

66 METPRNT Scale 8

67 VSTHOME Scale 8

68 UGDSYL* Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

1. _____ the school curriculum should include the study of the various peoples and traditions in Uganda
2. _____ the school timetable is already too full with the academic topics which are essential

69 PLYGMY Scale 7

70. BRDPRC Scale 7

71 INICER Scale 7

72 EXTFMY Scale 7

73 SATPROD Scale 5

---

* Item failed to load at .30 or above on any Factor.

Section C.1 cont.

The final questions consist of a series of paired adjectives separated by a seven-point scale.

For each pair indicate the extent to which you think one or the other of the adjectives describes the group of people mentioned at the top of the question.

CIRCLE ONE of the seven numbers between each pair of adjectives. Work quickly, putting down your first impressions rather than puzzling over each decision.

African Pupils:

74	PPLNTL	Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ignorant
75	PPLCLVR	Clever	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dull
76	PPLLZY	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hardworking
77	PPLHNST	Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
78	PPLQST	Questioning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unquestioning
79	PPLAMB	Unambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ambitious
80	MNSTRKN	Scale 2								

SECTION C.2

DESCRIPTION OF SCALES

SCALE 1 - IMAGE OF GOVERNMENT (FACTOR III)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(EXPMOE) Suppose a ruling were being considered by the Ministry of Education which you felt would be harmful to education in Uganda. If you expressed your opinion on the ruling to an official of the ministry, how do you think he would react?

1. _____ give your point of view serious consideration (4)
2. _____ pay some attention to your point of view (3)
3. _____ pay only a little attention to you (2)
4. _____ ignore what you had to say (1)

(INFLMOE) What do you think your chances of influencing the ministry would be?

1. _____ very good (4)
2. _____ good (3)
3. _____ poor (2)
4. _____ very poor (1)

(TRYINFL) If such a case arose, how likely is it that you would actually try to do something about it?

1. _____ very likely (4)
2. _____ somewhat likely (3)
3. _____ somewhat likely (2)
4. _____ very unlikely (1)

(BRKLWS) People who break laws in Uganda

1. _____ almost always get caught (4)
2. _____ usually get caught (3)
3. _____ usually get away (2)
4. _____ almost always get away (1)

(GOVPROG) The government is making good progress in the provision of educational and health services in Uganda.

1. _____ SA	2. _____ A	3. _____ UN	4. _____ D	5. _____ SD
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

(FRQRAD) How often do you listen to programmes on the radio which provide information about Uganda or East Africa?

1. _____ almost daily (4)
2. _____ several times a week (3)
3. _____ every week or so (2)
4. _____ almost never (1)
5. _____ I don't have a radio (0)

5

SCALE 1 cont.

(RADUGD) When you do listen to the radio, how likely are you to listen to Radio Uganda?

1. _____ very likely (3)
2. _____ somewhat likely (2)
3. _____ not very likely (1)

* * * * *

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	EXPMOE	INFLMOE	TRYINFL	BRKLWS	GOVPROG	FRQRAD	RADUGD
EXPMOE	1.00						
INFLMOE	.62	1.00					
TRYINFL	.38	.52	1.00				
BRKLWS	.23	.32	.18	1.00			
GOVPROG	.29	.30	.13	.33	1.00		
FRQRAD	.21	.34	.30	.30	.15	1.00	
RADUGD	.25	.36	.29	.30	.29	.52	1.00
test-retest reliability	.75	.61	.77	.77	.54	.86	.68

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = -0.012
Standard Deviation = 0.675
Variance = 0.456
Skewness = 0.126
Number of cases used = 471
Number of missing cases = 52

Kurtosis = -0.629
Range = 3.234
Maximum = 1.640
Minimum = -1.594
Number of complete cases = 327

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = 0.76 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .71

SCALE 1 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	EXPMOE*	INFLMOE*	TRYINFL*	BRKLWS*	GOVPROG*	FRQRAD*	RADUGD*
British Trained	2.23	1.55	2.11	1.95	3.51	2.41	1.58
British TEA/Vol	2.18	1.64	2.28	1.97	3.44	2.26	1.64
Btitish Local	2.05	1.52	1.80	2.13	3.30	2.56	1.56
Peace Corps	2.22	1.74	2.46	2.11	3.00	2.68	1.91
Missionaries	2.59	1.97	2.10	2.36	3.69	1.97	1.45
Asians	2.46	1.93	2.43	2.83	4.10	3.15	2.45
Africans	2.48	2.28	2.92	2.72	3.72	3.61	2.78
Makerere	2.04	2.17	2.90	2.77	3.86	3.30	2.50
Kyambogo	2.56	2.25	2.88	2.81	3.98	3.51	2.77
TOTAL GROUP							
Mean	2.34	1.87	2.42	2.40	3.64	2.92	2.13
S.D.	.86	.78	1.02	.75	.90	1.21	.87

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by a number in brackets following the response categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 2 - AWARENESS OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS (FACTOR XII)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(TOTPAP) (ARGPLP) The next question concerns your sources of information about current affairs in Uganda and East Africa. Please tick those papers or magazines which you read and indicate how frequently you read them.

PAPER OR MAGAZINE	TICK IF YOU READ	HOW FREQUENTLY
Uganda Argus		
The Daily Nation		
East African Standard		
The People		
Sunday Nation		
The Reporter(magazine)		
Other ________________		
		[Coded 1-8]

(MNSTRKN) We are interested in how well known the ministries of the national government are. Please list as many ministries and the names of their current ministers as you can remember. (Do NOT spend a long time on this; put down what you can remember now.)

TITLE OF MINISTRY	NAME OF MINISTER
	[Coded 1-8]

(POPUGNDA) What is the approximate population of Uganda?

______________________________ million _______ I don't know
[Coded for accuracy, 1-4]

(NOAFRN) For the community listed below please indicate about how many people you know; i.e.you know something about them and have some feeling for them as individuals. (DO NOT INCLUDE pupils or servants)

AFRICAN	_____ None; (1)	____ 1-3; (2)	____ 4-10; (3)	____ Many (4)

* * * * *

SCALE 2 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATION

	TOTPAP	ARGPLP	MNSTRKN	POPUGNDA	NOAFRN
TOTPAP	1.00				
ARGPLP	.66	1.00			
MNSTRKN	.46	.46	1.00		
POPUGNDA	.26	.21	.31	1.00	
NOAFRN	.39	.33	.40	.19	1.00
test-retest reliability	.67	.63	.48	.68	.68

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = -0.008
Standard Deviation = 0.742
Variance = 0.551
Skewness = -0.567
Number of cases used = 517
Number of missing cases = 6

Kurtosis = -0.472
Range = 3.331
Maximum = 1.259
Minimum = -2.072
Number of complete cases = 459

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .71 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .628

SCALE 2 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	TOTPAP	ARGPLP	MNSTRKN	POPUGNDA	NOAFRN
British Trained	3.65	2.62	4.83	2.83	3.19
British TEA/Vol	4.08	2.34	4.05	2.97	3.17
British Local	3.09	2.52	4.00	2.44	3.26
Peace Corps	3.88	2.38	3.87	2.52	3.23
Missionaries	4.47	2.84	5.81	2.58	3.83
Asians	5.39	3.06	5.98	2.76	3.59
Africans	5.31	3.38	7.08	3.31	3.96
Makerere	6.25	3.25	5.21	3.25	3.95
Kyambogo	5.62	3.52	7.40	3.52	3.98
TOTAL GROUP					
Mean	4.57	2.93	5.49	2.96	3.50
S.D.	2.28	1.06	2.70	1.12	.74

SCALE 3 - TEACHER DISCUSSES NATIONAL AFFAIRS WITH PUPILS (FACTOR XI)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(CONCLSS) Controversial national issues should NOT be discussed in the classroom. Such discussion only provokes emotional responses and interferes with constructive learning.

1. _____ I strongly agree (SA)
2. _____ I agree (A)
3. _____ I am undecided (UN)
4. _____ I disagree (D)
5. _____ I strongly disagree

(EXPOPN) Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

1. _____ if discussion of national affairs does take place in the classroom, the teacher, as a civil servant, should take care NOT to express personal opinions.

2. _____ it is perfectly acceptable for teachers to express personal opinions on nationa issues provided that make a clear distinction between such opinions and regular subject matter.

(NOTDSC) About how many people are these with whom you feel it would be better NOT TO DISCUSS affairs of a political nature?

1. _____ a great many
2. _____ some
3. _____ only a few
4. _____ almost none

(POLED) Schools should regard the political education of their pupils as an important part of their job.

1. _____ SA	2. _____ A	3. _____ UN	4. _____ D	5. _____ SD
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

(DSCLSS) About how frequently do problems of national or local concern in Uganda become topics of discussion in the classes which you teach?

1. _____ almost daily (4)
2. _____ several times a week(3)
3. _____ only occasionally (2)
4. _____ almost never (1)

* * * * *

SCALE 3 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	CONCLSS	EXPOPN	NOTDSC	POLED	DSCLSS
CONCLSS	1.00				
EXPOPN	.20	1.00			
NOTDSC	.30	.23	1.00		
POLED	.23	.16	.12	1.00	
DSCLSS	.20	.26	.06	.11	1.00
test-retest reliability	.59	.85	.67	.49	.65

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.004
Standard Deviation = 0.605
Variance = 0.366
Skewness = 0.005
Number of cases used = 500
Number of missing cases = 23

Kurtosis = -0.656
Range = 2.795
Maximum = 1.422
Minimum = -1.373
Number of complete cases = 432

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .52 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .65

SCALE 3 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	CONCLSS	EXPOPN	NOTDSC	POLED*	DSCLSS*
British Trained	3.17	1.52	2.76	2.72	2.03
British TEA/Vol	3.26	1.60	3.00	2.95	1.95
British Local	3.44	1.59	2.87	2.50	2.17
Peace Corps	3.80	1.58	2.90	3.33	1.92
Missionaries	1.83	1.52	2.56	2.73	1.74
Asians	1.69	1.52	2.13	2.94	1.82
Africans	2.64	1.66	2.52	3.16	2.06
Makerere	2.75	1.79	2.50	3.54	2.48
Kyambogo	2.04	1.72	2.65	3.00	2.18
TOTAL GROUP					
Mean	2.72	1.60	2.67	2.95	2.03
S.D.	1.31	.49	.94	1.18	.86

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by the number in brackets near the response categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 4 - PUPIL PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL (FACTOR II)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(SATPRFS) How satisfied are you with the way the prefect system functions in your school?

1. _____ highly satisfied
2. _____ fairly satisfied
3. _____somewhat unsatisfied
4. _____ highly unsatisfied

(ADQPAR) In your opinion the amount of participation which pupils now have in the organization and running of your school

1. ____ should be greatly increased (4)
2. ____ is not as much as is desirable (3)
3. ____ is as much as is desirable (2)
4. ____ is somewhat more than is desirable (1)

(PARSCH) How much do pupils participate in the running and organization of your school?

1. ____ a great deal
2. ____ a moderate amount - fairly regularly
3. ____ only a little - in a few specific instances
4. ____ almost none

(PUPDSAT) Are there a number of aspects of school organization about which there is some pupil dissatisfaction in your school?

1. ____ yes, there are several important areas of pupil dissatisfaction (4)
2. ____ yes, there is one important area of pupil dissatisfaction(3)
3. ____ yes, there are a few minor ones (2)
4. ____ no, there do not seem to be any noticeable areas of pupil dissatisfaction (1)

(COMCHNL) Pupils in our school have adequate channels for making their desires and complaints known to the staff.

1. _____ SA 2. _____ A 3. _____ UN 4. _____ D 5. _____ SD

(SATPROD) How satisfied are you that your school is producing pupils with the knowledge, attitudes, and values which are necessary and relevant to their future lives in Uganda?

1. _____ highly satisfied
2. _____ fairly satisfied
3. _____ somewhat unsatisfied
4. _____ very unsatisfied

* * * * *

SCALE 4 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	SATPRFS	ADQPAR	PARSCH	PUPDSAT	COMCHNL	SATPROD
SATPRFS	1.00					
ADQPAR	.40	1.00				
PARSCH	.41	.26	1.00			
PUPDSAT	.33	.41	.14	1.00		
COMCHNL	.23	.31	.27	.35	1.00	
SATPROD	.38	.10	.29	.23	.21	1.00
test-retest reliability	.78	.46	.64	.82	.65	.57

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.005
Standard Deviation = 0.650
Variance = 0.423
Skewness = 0.354
Number of cases used = 488
Number of missing cases = 35

Kurtosis = -0.197
Range = 3.596
Maximum = 2.126
Minimum = -1.470
Number of complete cases = 370

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .71 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficicent for items in the scale = .653

SCALE 4 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	SATPRFS	ADQPAR*	PARSCH	PUPDSAT*	COMCHNL	SATPROD
British Trained	2.43	2.56	2.10	2.27	2.09	2.73
British TEA/Vol	2.23	2.54	2.34	2.00	2.18	2.76
British Local	2.52	2.61	2.26	2.10	1.83	2.68
Peace Corps	2.40	2.80	2.50	2.95	2.52	3.00
Missionaries	2.03	2.37	1.81	1.79	1.53	2.20
Asians	2.17	2.60	2.26	1.94	2.24	2.17
Africans	2.42	2.77	1.86	2.34	1.83	2.52
Makerere	2.24	2.95	1.90	2.76	2.86	2.85
Kyambogo	--	3.30	1.75	2.88	2.52	2.42
TOTAL GROUP						
Mean	2.34	2.74	2.06	2.36	2.17	2.58
S.D.	.75	.79	.82	1.09	.98	.78

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by the number in brackets following the response categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 5 - RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION (FACTOR VI)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(CRCREL) In general, I think that the overall curriculum taught in my school is relevant and useful to the pupils, and requires only minor changes to make it appropriate for Uganda today.

1. _____ SA 2. _____ A 3. _____ UN 4. _____ D 5. _____SD

(EXMREL) I do NOT think that the examination system in its present form is suitable for Uganda: it needs major cahnges.

1. _____ SA	2. _____ A	3. _____ UN	4. _____ D	5. _____ SD
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

(PUBSCH) How relevant do you think that the English school tradition, which Uganda inherited at independence, is for the needs of present day Uganda?

1. _____ the English school tradition is highly relevant and and needs very little modification
2. _____ although some modification of the tradition is necessary, there is much of it which remains relevant to Uganda today
3. _____ although a few aspects of the tradition continue to have relevance, there is much that must be changed to fit modern Uganda
4. _____ the tradition has very little relevance for the needs of Uganda and far-reaching changes must be made.

(SATPROD) How satisfied are you that your school is producing pupils with the knowledge, attitudes, and values which are necessary and relevant to ther future lives in Uganda?

1. _____ highly satisfied
2. _____ fairly satisfied
3. _____ somewhat unsatisfied
4. _____ very unsatisfied

(SYLREV) The syllabus of the subject which I teach needs considerable revision before it will be relevant to the needs of Ugandan pupils.

1. _____ SA	2. _____ A	3. _____ UN	4. _____ D	5. _____ SD
(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

* * * * *

SCALE 5 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	CRCREL	EXMREL	PUBSCH	SATPROD	SYLREV
CRCREL	1.00				
EXMREL	.35	1.00			
PUBSCH	.10	.01	1.00		
SATPRDO	.45	.26	.16	1.00	
SYLREV	.28	.30	-.13	.10	1.00
test-retest reliability	.52	.57	.57	.57	.81

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.144
Standard Deviation = 0.669
Variance = 0.447
Skewness = 0.301
Number of cases used = 486
Number of missing cases = 37

Kurtosis = -0.347
Range = 3.468
Maximum = 1.904
Minimum = -1.564
Number of complete cases = 441

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .68 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for the items in the scale = .608

SCALE 5 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	CRCREL	EXMREL*	PUBSCH	SATPROD	SYLREV*
British Trained	2.72	3.18	2.45	2.73	2.88
British TEA/Vol	3.05	3.37	2.71	2.76	2.65
British Local	2.62	3.43	2.46	2.68	2.91
Peace Corps	3.31	4.22	3.08	3.00	3.05
Missionaries	2.40	3.03	2.37	2.20	2.82
Asians	2.63	3.40	2.68	2.17	3.52
Africans	2.38	3.25	2.43	2.52	3.29
Makerere	3.15	3.68	2.62	2.85	3.91
Kyambogo	2.59	3.83	2.68	2.42	3.77
TOTAL GROUP					
Mean	2.72	3.46	2.59	2.58	3.19
S.D.	1.06	1.14	.70	.78	1.23

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by a number in brackets under the responses categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 6 - AWARENESS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT (FACTOR XV)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

For each of the topics listed below please indicate how well informed you are on that subject by placing a number to the left of the topic.

1 = very well informed (4)
2 = moderately well informed (3)
3 = poorly informed (2)
4 = very poorly informed (1)

(POLSTR) _____ The political structure of the major tribe in my area.

(CULSTR) _____ The social and cultural characteristics of the major tribe in my area.

(AGRUGD) _____ Agriculture in Uganda

(EDSYS) _____ The educational system in Uganda

(LOCGOV) _____ Local government in your area

(LEGPROC)_____ The legislative process in Uganda

(NOAFRN) For the communities listed below please indicate about how many people you know in each; i.e. you know something about them and have some feeling for them as individuals. (DO NOT INCLUDE pupils or servants)

COMMUNITY	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS KNOWN			
AFRICAN	____ none; (1)	____ 1 - 3; (2)	____ 4 - 10; (3)	____ many. (4)

(TOTLANG) Please indicate your ability to speak any local language other than English or your mother tongue. Place a number in the blank to indicate your level of fluency.

1 = several dozen common words like greetings, etc.
2 = limited fluency in common situations; e.g. in the market, asking directions, asking questions, etc.
3 = easy fluency in a wide variety of situations, ability to use abstract ideas in discussion

a. _____ Swahili c. _____ other; ____________

b. _____ Luganda d. _____ other; ____________

[Coded 1-9; Sum of language ability]

* * * * *

SCALE 6 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	POLSTR	CULSTR	AGRUGD	EDSYS	LOCGOV	TOTLANG	LEGPROC	NOAFRN
POLSTR	1.00							
CULSTR	.75	1.00						
AGRUGD	.37	.37	1.00					
EDSYS	.44	.42	.34	1.00				
LOCGOV	.53	.48	.36	.37	1.00			
TOTLANG	.45	.41	.20	.19	.34	1.00		
LEGPROC	.41	.29	.29	.33	.42	.19	1.00	
NOAFRN	.44	.44	.31	.32	.40	.34	.28	1.00
test-retest reliability	.79	.82	.67	.78	.35	.96	.78	.68

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = -0.010
Standard Deviation = 0.708
Variance = 0.501
Skewness = -0.285
Number of cases used = 487
Number of missing cases = 36

Kurtosis = -0.411
Range = 3.585
Maximum = 1.554
Minimum = -2.031
Number of complete cases = 388

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .78
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .73

SCALE 6 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	POLSTR*	CULSTR*	AGRUGD*	EDSYS*	LOCGOV*	TOTLANG	LEGPROC*	NOAFRN
British Trained	1.98	2.30	2.67	3.24	1.96	1.97	2.13	3.19
British TEA/Vol	2.16	2.35	2.66	3.18	1.74	2.33	1.79	3.17
British Local	2.13	2.39	2.70	2.96	1.96	2.20	1.74	3.26
Peace Corps	2.10	2.45	2.40	3.08	2.10	2.94	1.95	3.23
Missionary	2.60	2.84	2.70	3.47	2.25	2.70	2.44	3.83
Asians	2.30	2.20	2.88	3.39	2.31	2.91	2.57	3.59
Africans	3.18	3.28	3.20	3.46	2.76	4.81	2.61	3.96
Makerere	3.12	3.10	2.96	3.52	3.04	3.50	2.30	3.95
Kyambogo	3.33	3.45	3.11	3.57	3.16	5.18	2.34	3.98
TOTAL GROUP								
Mean	2.47	2.64	2.80	3.30	2.33	3.14	2.23	3.50
S.D.	1.04	.96	.74	.69	.99	2.05	.95	.74

---

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by a number in brackets next to the response categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 7 - IMAGE OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE (FACTOR IV)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

Please read the following statements and then TICK THE ONE sentence which best describes your feelings about the custom or practice mentioned in the statement.

(BRDPRC) Bride Price: the cementing of a marriage by the exchange of wealth as proof of the sincerity of both parties and as a symbol of the mutual benefits for both families.

1. _____ it is an uncivilized custom amounting to the sale of women
2. _____ it is not compatible with modern ideas of the rights and equality of women
3. _____ while understandable as a custom, it is unsuited for modern conditions in Africa
4. _____ it is a custom which makes good sense in an African setting
5. _____ it is a custom which with some modification can be a strong unifying force and should be retained

(PLYGMY) Polygamy: the practice of a man having several wives, each with her own huts and gardens.

1. _____ it is morally wrong and repugnant to any civilized person
2. _____ it is incompatible with the dignity of the individual woman
3. _____ it is understandable as an economic institution but is morally undesirable
4. _____ it is an effective means of organizing a family and is no more wrong than monogamy
5. _____ it is a perfectly natural way of life and is well suited to the economic and social needs of African society

(EXTFMY) The Extended Family: whereby any individual is a part of a large network of personal relationships involving reciprocal obligations to help and be helped in times of need.

1. _____ is a severe handicap to an individual trying to imrpove himself by hard work as he seldom can enjoy the fruits of his labours
2. _____ leads to many people living as parasites on the few who have incomes and reduces the willingness of such people to work
3. _____ it acts to redistribute income and to reduce the gaps between the eilte and the general population
4. _____ it is the key to provision of many social services which the government can not provide
5. _____ it is a basic part of the fabric of African society and should be maintained

SCALE 7 cont.

(INICER) Initiation Ceremony: in which groups of youths are taught tribal history and customs, circumcized (in some tribes), and formally accepted as adult members of the society.

1. _____ the custom is both uncivilized and unhygenic and should be forbidden completely
2. _____ it is undesirable because it emphasizes loyalty to a small group to the detriment of larger loyalties to the new nation
3. _____ all societies have such rites in one form or another and they are no less desirable in Africa than in Europe
4. _____ it is a strong unifying force in tribal society, and an important psychological step in the maturing of individuals
5. _____ it should be preserved with modifications so as to stress membership in the larger African society of Uganda

* * * * *

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	BRDPRC	PLYGMY	EXTFMY	INICER
BRDPRC	1.00			
PLYGMY	.28	1.00		
EXTFMY	.18	.15	1.00	
INICER	.27	.23	.17	1.00
test-retest reliability	.62	.76	.75	.54

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.006
Standard Deviation = 0.640
Variance = -.410
Number of cases used = 426
Number of missing cases = 97
Number of complete cases = 426

Kurtosis = -0.412
Range = 3.010
Maximum = 1.418
Minimum = -1.591
Skewness = -0.091

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .52 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .67

SCALE 7 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	BRDPRC	PLYGMY	EXTFMY	INICER
British Trained	3.10	3.29	3.02	3.03
British TEA/Vol	3.24	3.51	3.49	3.17
British Local	2.82	3.18	2.76	3.00
Peace Corps	3.75	3.82	3.08	3.59
Missionaries	3.04	2.10	2.41	3.44
Asians	2.21	2.06	2.46	2.62
Africans	3.66	2.71	3.02	2.57
Makerere	4.13	3.17	3.33	4.14
Kyambogo	3.39	2.45	2.83	3.40
TOTAL GROUP				
Mean	3.24	2.95	2.95	3.29
S.D.	1.22	1.35	1.41	1.35

SCALE 8 - CONTACT WITH PUPILS' BACKGROUND (FACTOR I)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

For each of the topics listed below please indicate how well informed you are by placing a number to the left of the topic.

1 = very well informed (4)
2 = moderately well informed (3)
3 = poorly informed (2)
4 = very poorly informed (1)

(PARATTD) _____ the feelings and attitudes of the parents of my pupils

(PPLBKGD) _____ the home and family background of my pupils

(VSTHOME) About how many pupil's homes have you been able to visit?

____ none; ____ 1 - 3; ____ 4 - 10; ____ many
(1) (2) (3) (4)

(METPRNT) About how many pupil's parents have you had a chance to meet and talk with?

____ none; ____ 1 - 3; ____ 4 - 10; ____ many
(1) (2) (3) (4)

(LOCOFL) Do you ever have contact with the officials of the local government in your area?

1. ____ Yes (2)
2. ____ No (1)

* * * * *

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	PARATTD	PPLBKGD	VSTHOME	METPRNT	LOCOFL
PARATTD	1.00				
PPLBKGD	.56	1.00			
VSTHOME	.53	.37	1.00		
METPRNT	.54	.40	.75	1.00	
LOCOFL	.23	.27	.31	.32	1.00
test-retest reliability	.70	.64	.79	.86	.61

SCALE 8 cont.

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.017	Kurtosis = -0.702
Standard Deviation = 0.754	Range = 3.127
Variance = 0.569	Maximum = 1.959
Skewness = 0.309	Minimum = -1.167
Number of cases used = 415	Number of complete cases = 406
Number of missing cases = 108	

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = 0.78 (Internal consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = 0.72

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	PARATTD*	PPLBKGD*	VSTHOME	METPRNT	LOCOFL*
British Trained	1.64	2.35	1.79	2.19	1.76
British TEA/Vol	1.63	2.55	1.45	1.84	1.74
British Local	1.61	2.26	1.56	1.96	1.65
Peace Corps	1.70	2.50	1.70	1.90	1.68
Missionaries	2.30	2.87	2.57	3.00	2.06
Asians	2.41	2.43	2.84	3.16	1.54
Africans	2.38	2.54	2.28	3.08	1.98
Makerere	1.76	2.29	2.17	2.72	2.09
Kyambogo	1.78	2.02	--	--	--
TOTAL GROUP					
Mean	1.86	2.37	1.98	2.42	1.79
S.D.	.88	.84	1.02	1.10	.94

* These means are based on responses which have been recoded. The new codes are indicated by a number in brackets next to the response categories listed in the previous pages.

SCALE 9 - SCHOOL COMMUNITY INTERACTION (FACTOR XVI)

TEXT OF SCALE ITEMS

(SCHISO) Which statement do you agree with more?

1. ____ the physical isolation of secondary schools is generally desirable because it reduces the distracting and often conflicting influences of the community on the pupils

2. ____ the physical isolation of secondary schools is generally undesirable because it reinforces the tendency towards an education unrelated to the needs of society.

(SCHCOM) Tick the ONE statement which best approximates your feelings about the following quotation.

> "The school should be part of the community in which it is located, with pupils and local people jointly engaged in self-help schemes and other community projects."

1. ____ both pupils and parents would rightly object that such things are not part of the job of the secondary school

2. ____ the problems of coordination and transport make such projects almost completely impractical

3. ____ although there would be practical difficulties, many pupils would probably benefit

4. ____ such activities are highly desirable and would have a very beneficial effect on pupils' attitudes

(SATRLTN) In general, how satisfied are you with the relations between your school and the surrounding community?

1. ____ highly satisfied
2. ____ fairly satisfied
3. ____ somewhat unsatisfied
4. ____ very unsatisfied

* * * * *

SCALE 9 cont.

ITEM-ITEM CORRELATIONS

	SCHISO	SCHCOM	SATRLTN
SCHISO	1.00		
SCHCOM	.28	1.00	
SATRLTN	.30	.22	1.00
test-retest reliability	.54	.66	.69

DISTRIBUTION OF SCALE SCORES

Mean = 0.006
Standard Deviation = 0.726
Variance = 0.527
Skewness = -0.328
Number of cases used = 435
Number of missing cases = 88

Kurtosis = -0.950
Range = 3.663
Maximum = 2.517
Minimum = -1.146
Number of complete cases = 435

RELIABILITY

Cronbach's Alpha = .53 (Internal Consistency)
Average test-retest correlation coefficient for items in the scale = .63

SCALE 9 cont.

MEANS OF TEACHER GROUPS ON ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE SCALE

	SCHISO	SCHCOM	SATRLTN
British Trained	1.60	2.91	2.40
British TEA/Vol	1.72	2.95	2.48
British Local	1.47	2.91	2.19
Peace Corps	1.82	2.92	2.81
Missionaries	1.37	2.74	1.90
Asians	1.62	3.21	1.96
Africans	1.50	3.00	2.60
Makerere	1.87	3.54	2.95
Kyambogo	1.70	3.19	2.34
TOTAL GROUP			
Mean	1.63	3.03	2.39
S.D.	.48	.96	.84

APPENDIX D

COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

In completing this booklet, try to work steadily and rapidly. You will find that it goes quite quickly since most of the questions can be answered by placing a tick next to one of several alternatives.

Do not spend a long time on any one question; no individual answer is that important. If a case occurs where none of the alternatives seem attractive, choose the one which comes closest to being acceptable and then write a clarifying note in the margin.

In the event that you are unable to finish the questions please return the booklet with those questions which you have answered.

In the first section we would like to get to know a little about your background.

7. To which of the following groups do you belong? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ European (include North America)
2. ____ African
3. ____ Asian
4. ____ Other, please specify: ______________________________

8. Of what country are you now a citizen? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ Uganda
2. ____ Great Britain
3. ____ United States
4. ____ Canada
5. ____ Other, please give country: __________

9. In which of the following age groups are you?

1. ____ less than 20
2. ____ 20 to 24
3. ____ 25 to 29
4. ____ 30 to 34
5. ____ 35 to 39
6. ____ 40 or over

10. Are you a male or a female? 1. ____ Male 2. ____ Female

11. Are you married? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES

12. A. Do you have any children who are living at home with you in Africa? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

13. B. What does your spouse do?

1. ____ housewife
2. ____ teaches part-time/full-time in the same school
3. ____ teaches in another school
4. ____ not living with me in Africa
5. ____ other, what? ______________________________

14. C. How active is your spouse in the out-of-class activities of the secondary school where YOU teach?

1. ____ very active
2. ____ moderately active
3. ____ occasionally active
4. ____ rarely active

15. What is your religion?

1. ____ Muslim
2. ____ Catholic
3. ____ Protestant
4. ____ Other, please specify: ______________________________

16. How active a member of your religion do you consider yourself?

1. ____ active 2. ____ inactive

17. In what size town or city did you spend most of your time while growing up? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ isolated rural farm or small village
2. ____ 5,000 to 20,000 people
3. ____ 20,000 to 100,000 people
4. ____ over 100,000 people

18. Have you ever lived or worked on a farm (shamba) or ranch?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate for about how long: ____________

19. What was the main occupation of your father while you were growing up? ____

20. What was the highest level of formal schooling completed by your father? ____

21. Do you hold a university degree? (or equivalent qualification)

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

3. ____ an equivalent: What? ______________________

All GRADUATES please go to question number 25

* * * * *

NON-GRADUATES PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

22. A. Do you have a Higher School Certificate? (A Level)

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

23. B. Have you had any formal training for teaching?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, describe briefly your training: ____________

____

24. C. What grade teacher are you classified by the Ministry?

1. ____ Grade V 2. ____ Grade IV

3. ____ Other, explain: ____________

4. ____ Temporary hire, explain: ____________

NON-GRADUATES skip to question number 30

* * * * *

GRADUATES please answer the following questions:

25.
26.
27. A. Please list your degrees and the granting institutions

UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE	DEGREE
____________	____________
____________	____________

28. B. If your degree is from a British-type university please indicate how many subjects you took for your final exams.

____

29. C. Do you have a teaching diploma or certificate in addition to your degree? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, did this certificate require an extra year of work after your degree?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

* * * * *

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWER

30.
31. Please list below the subjects which you are trained to teach; i.e., your major subjects.

1. ________ 2. ________ 3. ________ 4. ________

32. Please list below those subjects which you feel you could
33. teach if demanded - with some extra preparation - even though they are not your major subjects.

1. __________ 2. __________ 3. __________ 4. __________

34. How long have you been teaching in Uganda?

______ Years and ______ months

35. How long have you been teaching in your present school?

______ Years and ______ months

36. About how much longer do you expect to teach in Uganda?

____

EXPATRIATES please go to question number 42

* * * * *

AFRICANS and ASIANS please answer the following

37. If you are an African, gfve your tribe ________________

38. If you are an Asian, give your community ________________

If your secondary education was received in East Africa please indicate:

39. A. What school you attended for School Certificate

School ____________________ Country ____________

40. B. What were your results in the school certificate?

1. ____ first
2. ____ second
3. ____ third
4. ____ GCE
5. ____ other
6. ____ I did not sit for the exam

41. If you are an African, where would you prefer to teach? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ in a tribally mixed area
2. ____ in an area where your own tribe was a majority
3. ____ in an area where some tribe other than your own was in the majority
4. ____ other, ______________________________

AFRICANS and ASIANS please go to question number 56

42. If your secondary education was received in the United Kingdom, please indicate what kind of a school it was.

1. ____ Maintained Secondary School (State school)
2. ____ 'Public School' (Headmaster's Conference)
3. ____ Other, what? ____________________________

43. If your secondary education was received outside of the United Kingdom, please indicate what kind of school it was.

1. ____ A state supported day school
2. ____ A fee-paying, boarding school
3. ____ Other, what? ____________________

44. How much teaching experience did you have before coming to Uganda?
____

45. Have you ever taught in a fee-paying boarding type school?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

46. Outside of formal training or orientation how much reading and studying were you able to do about Uganda and East Africa before you came?

1. ____ a great deal 3. ____ some
2. ____ a fair amount 4. ____ very little

47. Are you hired on local terms? (Uganda Teaching Service)

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

48. IF NO, through what organization or programme were you recruited and sent to Uganda? (e.g. VSO, Peace Corps, TEA, Overseas Development Ministry, etc.)
____

49. Did you receive any orientation or training about Uganda before you began teaching? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please describe your training

50. A. How long was it? ______________

51. B. What institution organized the training?
____

52. C. How valuable did you find this training in preparing you to live and work in Uganda? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ highly valuable 3. ____ of doubtful value
2. ____ moderately valuable 4. ____ of little or no value

53. How valuable do you think it would be for the Uganda government to sponsor a training programme to give teachers a better understanding of Uganda and its peoples?

1. ____ highly valuable 3. ____ of doubtful value
2. ____ moderately valuable 4. ____ of little or no value

54. Did you do any serious studying of a local language before you arrived in Uganda?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

55. Have you done any study of a local language since you arrived in Uganda?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

* * * * * * * * * * *

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWER

In this section we would like to get an idea of the extent of the demands placed on secondary school teachers.

56.
.
.
64. Please indicate in the spaces below your teaching load for THIS TERM. List from the Highest to the Lowest form.

FORM	SUBJECT	PERIODS PER WEEK
________	____________________________	________
________	____________________________	________
________	____________________________	________
________	____________________________	________
________	____________________________	________
________	____________________________	________
	Total	________

65. Are you hired to teach part-time or full-time at this school?

1. ____ part-time, what fraction? __________
2. ____ full-time
3. ____ full-time, but I have a lighter load because of other duties (e.g. headmaster)
Please specify: ________________________

66. Are you a form master/mistress? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

67. On the average about how much supervisory duty do you have in a term? __________ days per TERM

68. Are you involved in any other duties or activities outside of the classroom in your school?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate below what you are involved in THIS TERM and make a rough estimate of the hours spent on each activity.

A. Administration (Careers, subject head, bookstore, etc.)

69. 1. Housemaster/mistress ___ hrs. per _____
70.
71. 2. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____
3. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____
4. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____

B. Activities, Societies, Sports, School trips, etc.

72. 1. Athletics ___ hrs. per _____
. 2. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____
.
75. 3. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____
4. ____________________ ___ hrs. per _____

76. C. Are you meeting pupils for special classes this term in addition to your regular schedule?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, how many hours a week? _____ hrs. per week

77. Are there any important activities or sports which you
78. were involved in LAST TERM which are not happening this
term? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate what the activity was:

____ __ hrs. per ____

7. Are there any activities or sports which you have been responsible for starting at your school or which you intend to start in the near future? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

If YES, please indicate what the activity is:

____

8. Did YOU ever hold an office during your secondary school career; such as, an officer in a society, club, or sport, or as a prefect, or a member of a school council?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate what offices you held:

____

9. What did you do during the last school vacation?

____

10. Do you belong to a teachers association in Uganda? (Tick ONE and complete the blank)

1. ____ I am a member of the ____________________ Association and am active in its affairs.
2. ____ I am a member of the ____________________ Association but am seldom active in its affairs.
3. ____ I am not a member of any organization.

11. About how frequently, on the average, do you visit the sports or social club in the town near your school?

1. ____ almost daily
2. ____ 2 or 3 times a week
3. ____ once a week or so
4. ____ almost never
5. ____ there is no club

This section is concerned with some of your ideas about Uganda and its goals.

We are interested in how well known the ministries of the national government are. Please list as many ministries and the names of their current ministers as you can remember. (Do NOT spend a long time on this; put down what you can remember now.)

	TITLE OF MINISTRY	NAME OF MINISTER
12.	____________________	____________
	____________________	____________
	____________________	____________
	____________________	____________

13. What is the approximate population of Uganda?

_______________ million ______ I don't know

14. What is the single most important source of revenue for the central government of Uganda?

_____________________ ______ I don't know

15. What is the approximate per capita income in Uganda?

__________ per head, per year ______ I don't know

For each of the topics listed below please indicate how well informed you are on that subject by placing a number to the left of the topic.

1 = very well informed
2 = moderately well informed
3 = poorly informed
4 = very poorly informed

16. a. ____ agriculture in Uganda
17. b. ____ industrial development in Uganda
18. c. ____ the new constitution in Uganda
19. d. ____ the legislative process in Uganda
20. e. ____ local government in your area
21. f. ____ the educational system in Uganda

The next few questions concern your sources of information about current affairs in Uganda and East Africa. Please tick those papers or magazines which you read and indicate how frequently you read them.

	PAPER OR MAGAZINE	TICK IF YOU READ	HOW FREQUENTLY
22.	Uganda Argus	____	____________
23.	The Daily Nation	____	____________
24.	East African Standard	____	____________
	The People	____	____________
	Sunday Nation	____	____________
	The Reporter (magazine)	____	____________
	Other: ______________	____	____________

25. How often do you listen to programmes on the radio which provide information about Uganda or East Africa.

1. ____ almost daily
2. ____ several times a week
3. ____ every week or so
4. ____ almost never
5. ____ I don't have a radio

26. When you do listen to the radio, how likely are you to listen to Radio Uganda?

1. ____ very likely
2. ____ somewhat likely
3. ____ not very likely

27. Do you have a television set or access to one?

1. ____ Yes		2. _____ No

28. What district and saza (county) do you live in?

District: ______________________

Saza (county)/urban council: ______________

29. Do you ever have contact with the officials of the local government in your area? 1. ____ Yes	2. ____ No

IF YES, what kinds of officials? ______________________

30. About how frequently do you discuss public affairs and matters of national interest in Uganda with other people?

1. ____ nearly every day		3. ____ from time to time
2. ____ about once a week		4. ____ almost never

31. About how many people are there with whom you feel it would be better NOT TO DISCUSS affairs of a political nature?

1. ____ a great many   3. ____ only a few
2. ____ some   4. ____ almost none

32. Have you ever taken an active part in politics at a local or national level in Uganda? 1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate in what way you were active:

____

33. Which TWO of the following goals do you think the Uganda
34. government regards as most important? Place a "1" next to your first choice; a "2" next to your second choice.

1. ____ mass literacy, expansion of primary education
2. ____ industrial development, producing more jobs
3. ____ agricultural development
4. ____ national unification, stability and harmony
5. ____ producing more high level, trained manpower
6. ____ overall development, higher standard of living

NON-EXPATRIATES go to question number 38

* * * * *

EXPATRIATES please answer the following questions

35. How would you describe your political affiliation at home?
36. (Tick ONE and complete the blank)

1. ____ I was a member of the ________________ party
2. ____ I was strongly sympathetic to the ____________ party
3. ____ I was mildly sympathetic to the ____________ party
4. ____ I had no commitment to any party.

37. How frequently would you say that you discussed public affairs with other people at home?

1. ____ nearly every day   3. ____ from time to time
2. ____ about once a week   4. ____ almost never

ALL RESPONDENTS ANSWER

38. Suppose a ruling were being considered by the Ministry of Education which you felt would be harmful to education in Uganda. If you expressed your opinion on the ruling to an official of the ministry, how do you think he would react? Would he -

    1. ____ give your point of view serious consideration
    2. ____ pay some attention to your point of view
    3. ____ pay only a little attention to you
    4. ____ ignore what you had to say

39. What do you think your chances of influencing the ministry would be?

    1. ____ very good
    2. ____ good
    3. ____ poor
    4. ____ very poor

40. If such a case arose, how likely is it that you would actually try to do something about it?

    1. ____ very likely
    2. ____ somehwat likely
    3. ____ somewhat unlikely
    4. ____ very unlikely

The next section is concerned with citizenship and the role of the school in citizenship training.

41. Which of the following statements most closely approximates your view of the role which the secondary school should play in the citizenship training of pupils? (Tick ONE)

    1. ____ Citizenship training should be done by the community and the family - not the school
    2. ____ Citizenship training cannot be consciously taught: rather it is learned by example
    3. ____ Citizenship can be profitably practised in out-of-class activities and should be informally encouraged when the oportunity arises
    4. ____ Citizenship training should form a planned part of both in- and out- of-class activities

42. What part do you think the educated African citizen should play in the local affairs of his district?

1. ____ he should be much more active than the average citizen
2. ____ he should be somewhat more active than the average citizen
3. ____ both kinds of citizens should be equally active

43. How important do you think teachers are as a source of information for pupils about what is happening in Uganda?

1. ____ probably the single most important source
2. ____ about as important as radio and newspapers
3. ____ about as important as classmates and friends
4. ____ about as important as parents and other adults
5. ____ less important than any of the above sources

44. About how frequently do problems of national or local concern in Uganda become topics of discussion in the classes which you teach?

1. ____ almost daily
2. ____ several times a week
3. ____ only occasionally
4. ____ almost never

45. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

1. ____ if discussion of national affairs does take place in the classroom, the teacher, as a civil servant, should take care NOT to express personal opinions
2. ____ it is perfectly acceptable for teachers to express personal opinions on national issues provided they make a clear distinction between such opinions and regular subject matter

46. How much do pupils participate in the running and organization of your school?

1. ____ a great deal
2. ____ a moderate amount - fairly regularly
3. ____ only a little - in a few specific instances
4. ____ almost none

47. In your opinion the amount of participation which pupils now have in the organization and running of your school

1. ____ should be greatly increased
2. ____ is not as much as is desirable
3. ____ is as much as is desirable
4. ____ is somewhat more than is desirable

48. Are there a number of aspects of school organization about which there is some pupil dissatisfaction in your school?

1. ____ yes, there are several important areas of pupil dissatisfaction
2. ____ yes, there is one important area of pupil dissatisfaction
3. ____ yes, there are a few minor areas
4. ____ no, there do not seem to be any noticeable areas of pupil dissatisfaction

49. Which of the following statements most closely expresses what you think should be the primary purpose of the prefect system in a school in Uganda? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ to assist the staff in the orderly running of the school
2. ____ to provide leadership experience for those pupils who become prefects
3. ____ to provide pupils with experience in organizing and running their own affairs
4. ____ to provide channels which facilitate communication and understanding bewteen pupils and staff.
5. ____ Other: ________________________________

50. How satisfied are you with the way the prefect system functions in your school?

1. ____ highly satisfied
2. ____ fairly satisfied
3. ____ somewhat unsatisfied
4. ____ highly unsatisfied

Why do you feel this way? ________________________________

____

51. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

1. ____ pupils would benefit from a more democratic form of school organization in which they elected their own leaders and controlled their own affairs.
2. ____ pupils get sufficient opportunity to practice the skills of self-government in their clubs and societies; there is no need for further opportunities on a school-wide basis

52. As an individual teacher how frequently would you say that your own actions either in or out of class are directly effected as a result of pupil requests for change?

1. ____ very frequently
2. ____ frequently
3. ____ occasionally
4. ____ almost never

53. Which of the following statements most closely agrees with your feelings on how a teacher should act?

1. ____ he should seek out and create opportunities to demonstrate and use more effective educational ideas and practices
2. ____ he should try out new ideas and practices if the opportunity arises, but not deliberately seek out or create such opportunities
3. ____ he should be content to expose pupils and staff to new ideas through his own example and leave it at that
4. ____ he should try out new ideas or practices only when requested to do so by the headmaster or the relevant ministry officials

54. To what extent, if at all, have you made changes in the content and presentation of the syllabus in your subject?

1. ____ I have done extensive work in seeking out new references, writing new materials, and reorganizing the approach to the present syllabus
2. ____ I have done some work in writing new materials and creating new approaches to the syllabus
3. ____ I have made minor modifications of materials and approaches to the syllabus
4. ____ I have not felt the need to make any changes

55. Have you ever tried to initiate a change in some aspect of the organization or procedure of the school where you are now teaching? (e.g. punishment)

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate what you tried to change and how successful you think the attempt was.

CHANGE ATTEMPTED	DEGREE OF SUCCESS
1. ______________________	___ High ___ Medium ___ Low
2. ______________________	___ High ___ Medium ___ Low

56. How relevant do you think the English school tradition, which Uganda inherited at independence, is for the needs of present day Uganda?

1. ____ The English school tradition is highly relevant and needs very little modification
2. ____ although some modification of the tradition is necessary, there is much of it which remains relevant to Uganda today
3. ____ although a few aspects of the tradition continue to have relevance, there is much that must be changed to fit modern Uganda
4. ____ the tradition has very little relevance for the needs of Uganda and far-reaching changes must be made

57. Tick the ONE statement which best approximates your feelings about the following quotation.

"The school should be part of the community in which it is located, with pupils and local people jointly engaged in self-help schemes and other community projects."

1. ____ both pupils and parents would rightly object that such things are not part of the job of the secondary school
2. ____ the problems of coordination and transport make such projects almost completely impractical
3. ____ although there would be practical difficulties, many pupils would probably benefit
4. ____ such activities are highly desirable and would have a very beneficial effect on pupils' attitudes

58. In general how satisfied are you with the relations between your school and the surrounding community?

1. ____ highly satisfied **3. ____ somewhat unsatisfied**
2. ____ fairly satisfied **4. ____ very unsatisfied**

59. Which statement do you agree with more?

1. ____ the physical isolation of secondary schools is generally desirable because it reduces the distracting and often conflicting influences of the community on the pupils
2. ____ the physical isolation of secondary schools is generally undesirable because it reinforces the tendency towards an education unrelated to the needs of society

60. Are you, or have you in the past year, been involved in any community activities outside the school: e.g. adult education, work camps, youth organizations, etc.?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

IF YES, please indicate what activities:

____

61. Which statement do you agree with more?

1. ____ since the government pays the bulk of educational expenses, it has every right to require pupils to serve for a period at something less than the commercial rate of pay.
2. ____ pupils have earned their position by means of long, hard work and are therefore entitled to normal salaries as soon as they finish school

62. Which statement do you agree with more?

1. ____ standards of university education in Uganda should be kept at a high, internationally defined and recognized level
2. ____ standards of university education in Uganda should be flexible and related to the needs and resources of Uganda

63. Compared to the quality of education being received by the pupils in this school, my OWN secondary education was

1. ____ much worse	4. ____ slightly better
2. ____ slightly worse	5. ____ much better
3. ____ about the same	

64. When something is said or done which pupils do not agree with, they

1. ____ almost always will say so
2. ____ frequently will say so
3. ____ occasionally will say so
4. ____ very seldom will say so

65. Suppose you were asked to teach material which contradicted some of your own values and attitudes; what would you do? (Tick ONE)

1. ____ refuse to teach it or just omit it
2. ____ ask to have someone else teach it
3. ____ teach it, but give my own viewpoint also
4. ____ try to teach it objectively - giving both sides
5. ____ teach it as requested, keeping my own viewpoint entirely out of it

66. Suppose you were asked to advise the Ministry of Education
67. on the allocation of funds from a new loan. Which THREE
68. of the following possible uses of the loan would you select as being most important for Uganda? Indicate your priorities by placing a "1" next to your first choice, etc.

1. ____ expanding the number of places in primary school
2. ____ improving the quality of primary schooling
3. ____ expanding the number of places in secondary school
4. ____ expanding and improving teacher training for secondary school teachers
5. ____ raising salaries of primary school teachers
6. ____ writing new curricula and textbooks to fit the needs of Ugandan pupils
7. ____ raising salaries of secondary school teachers
8. ____ expanding training for middle-level, technical manpower; clerical, mechanical, agricultural

69. About how frequently do you have pupils in your home for informal gatherings, individual tutoring, visiting, etc.

1. ____ almost every day
2. ____ several times a week
3. ____ not regularly
4. ____ almost never

70. Do you live on or very near the school compound?

1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

The following section contains a number of statements about different topics. For each statement indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by ticking one of the blanks.

7. People who break laws in Uganda

1. ____ almost always get caught
2. ____ usually get caught
3. ____ usually get away
4. ____ almost always get away

8. Controversial national issues should NOT be discussed in the classroom. Such discussion only provokes emotional responses and interferes with constructive learning.

1. ____ I strongly agree (SA)
2. ____ I agree (A)
3. ____ I am undecided (UN)
4. ____ I disagree (D)
5. ____ I strongly disagree (SD)

9. If prefects were elected by the pupils, the confusion and the risk of unsuitable winners would more than offset any educational value there might be in the process of election.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

10. Pupils in our school have adequate channels for making their desires and complaints known to the staff.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

11. Expatriate teachers should be willing to learn a local language.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

12. Pupils should do many of the tasks currently performed by hired labourers in the school such as cleaning, garden work, and washing up after meals.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

13. The government is making good progress in the provision of educational and health services in Uganda.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

14. A strong central government is the only way to avoid unnecessary duplication and waste of Uganda's limited resources.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

15. Personal freedoms must sometimes be limited in the interests of security and good government.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

16. The syllabus of the subject which I teach needs considerable revision before it will be relevant to the needs of Ugandan pupils.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

17. Schools should regard the political education of their pupils as an important part of their job.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

18. Teachers should act so as to reduce the excessively competitive nature of the school system and to promote a spirit of cooperation and group effort.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

19. The schools in Uganda must concentrate their limited resources on providing the academic training necessary to meet the standards set by the examinations.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

20. As a highly educated minority group, secondary school pupils have every right to expect jobs which do not require physical work.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

21. In general, I think that the overall curriculum taught in my school is relevant and useful to the pupils, and requires only minor changes to make it appropriate for Uganda today.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

22. I do NOT think that the examination system in its present form is suitable for Uganda: it needs major changes.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____SD

23. Most of the pupils' parents have so little education that there is little of value which they can teach their children about life in modern Uganda.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

24. The advantages of having multi-tribal schools outweigh the extra economic costs incurred for housing and transport.

1. ____ SA 2. ____ A 3. ____ UN 4. ____ D 5. ____ SD

This is the beginning of the final section. It deals with Uganda's traditional cultures and their role in the schools.

25. Please indicate which of the following areas you have been
26. able to visit and which of them you have made some study of, i.e., know something about local history, or customs, or society. Use as many ticks as needed.

AREA	VISITED	STUDIED
Buganda	________	________
Ankole	________	________
Kigezi	________	________
Toro	________	________
Bunyoro	________	________
West Nile	________	________
Acholi-Lango	________	________
Teso	________	________
Karamoja	________	________
Bugisu-Sebei	________	________
Busoga	________	________

27. Approximately how many books have you read which were concerned with East Africa or Uganda?

1. ____ one or two
2. ____ three to six
3. ____ six to twelve
4. ____ more than twelve

28. Can you give the titles of some of these books which you have read recently? (OTHER THAN SCHOOL TEXTS)

1. ____
2. ____

29. Please indicate your ability to speak any local language
. other than English or your mother tongue. Place a number
. in the blank to indicate your level of fluency.
33.

1 = several dozen common words like greetings, etc.

2 = limited fluency in common situations; e.g. in the market, asking directions, asking questions, etc.

3 = easy fluency in a wide variety of situations, ability to use abstract ideas in discussion

a. ____ Swahili
b. ____ Luganda
c. ____ Other; ____________
d. ____ Other; ____________

For each of the topics listed below please indicate how well informed you are by placing a number to the left of the topic.

1. = very well informed 3 = poorly informed

2 = moderately well informed 4 = very poorly informed

34. a. ____ the home and family background of my pupils

35. b. ____ the feelings and attitudes of the parents of my pupils

36. c. ____ the political structure of the major tribe in my area

37. d. ____ the social and cultural characteristics of the major tribe in my area

38. e. ____ the Asian community in Uganda

For the communities listed below please indicate about how many people you know in each; i.e. you know something about them and have some feeling for them as individuals. (DO NOT INCLUDE pupils or servants)

COMMUNITY	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS KNOWN			
39. AFRICAN	___ none;	___ 1 - 3;	___ 4 - 10;	___ many
40. ASIAN	___ none;	___ 1 - 3;	___ 4 - 10;	___ many
41. EUROPEAN	___ none;	___ 1 - 3;	___ 4 - 10;	___ many

42. About how many pupil's parents have you had a chance to meet and talk with.

___ none; ___ 1 - 3; ___ 4 - 10; ___ many

43. About how many pupil's homes have you been able to visit?

___ none; ___ 1 - 3; ___ 4 - 10; ___ many

44. Which tribe, or Asian community, has the largest number of pupils in your school?

1. ____________________ 2. ___ I don't know

45. About what percentage of the total are they?

___________ % ___ I don't know

46. Which of the following statements do you agree with more?

   1. ____ the school curriculum should include the study of the various peoples and traditions in Uganda
   2. ____ the school timetable is already too full with the academic topics which are essential

Please read the following statements and then TICK THE ONE sentence which best describes your feeling about the custom or practice mentioned in the statement.

47. Polygamy: the practice of a man having several wives, each with her own hut and gardens.

   1. ____ it is morally wrong and repugnant to any civilized person
   2. ____ it is incompatible with the dignity of the individual woman
   3. ____ it is understandable as an economic institution but is morally undesirable
   4. ____ it is an effective means of organizing a family and is no more wrong than monogamy
   5. ____ it is a perfectly natural way of life and is well suited to the economic and social needs of African society

48. Bride Price: the cementing of a marriage by the exchange of wealth as proof of the sincerity of both parties and as a symbol of the mutual benefits for both families.

   1. ____ it is an uncivilized custom amounting to the sale of women
   2. ____ it is not compatible with modern ideas of the rights and equality of women
   3. ____ while understandable as a custom, it is unsuited for modern conditions in Africa
   4. ____ it is a custom which makes good sense in an African setting
   5. ____ it is a custom which with some modification can be a strong unifying force and should be retained.

49. Initiation Ceremonies: in which groups of youths are taught tribal history and customs, circumcized (in some tribes), and formally accepted as adult members of the society.

1. ____ the custom is both uncivilized and unhygienic and should be forbidden completely
2. ____ it is undesirable because it emphasizes loyalty to a small group to the detriment of larger loyalties to the new nation
3. ____ all societies have such rites in one form or another and they are no less desirable in Africa than in Europe
4. ____ it is a strong unifying force in tribal society, and an important psychological step in the maturing of individuals
5. ____ it should be preserved with modifications so as to stress membership in the larger African society of Uganda

50. The Extended Family: whereby any individual is a part of a large network of personal relationships involving reciprocal obligations to help and be helped in times of need.

1. ____ is a severe handicap to an individual trying to improve himself by hard work as he seldom can enjoy the fruits of his labours
2. ____ leads to many people living as parasites on the few who have incomes and reduces the willingness of such people to work
3. ____ it acts to redistribute income and to reduce the gaps between the elite and the general population
4. ____ it is the key to the provision of many social services which the government can not provide
5. ____ it is a basic part of the fabric of African society and should be maintained

51. How satisfied are you that your school is producing pupils with the knowledge, attitudes, and values which are necessary and relevant to their future lives in Uganda?

1. ____ highly satisfied
2. ____ fairly satisfied
3. ____ somewhat satisfied
4. ____ very unsatisfied

The final four questions consist of a series of paired adjectives separated by a seven-point scale.

For each pair indicate the extent to which you think one or the other of the adjectives describes the group of people mentioned at the top of the question.

CIRCLE ONE of the seven numbers between each pair of adjectives. Work quickly, putting down your first impressions rather than puzzling over each decision.

Expatriate Secondary School Teachers:

52.	Reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unreliable
53.	Ignorant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Intelligent
54.	Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lazy
55.	Unprejudiced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Prejudiced
56.	Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
57.	Domineering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Subservient

African Pupils:

58.	Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ignorant
59.	Clever	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dull
60.	Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hardworking
61.	Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
62.	Questioning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unquestioning
63.	Unambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ambitious

Asian Businessmen:

64.	Hardworking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Lazy
65.	Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unambitious
66.	Unreliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Reliable
67.	Domineering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Subservient
68.	Generous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Selfish
69.	Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest

African Secondary School Teachers:

70. Reliable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unreliable
71. Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Dishonest
72. Lazy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Hardworking
73. Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unambitious
74. Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Ignorant
75. Prejudiced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Unprejudiced

This is the end of the questionnaire. Your cooperation is very much appreciated. It is hoped that in addition to being of great value to others, the time spent on this will have raised some thoughts and ideas which are of value to you as a teacher.

Date completed ________________

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